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ABSTRACT

These conference proceedings examine the interrelationships between work life and family life and explore ways in which home economics education can contribute to the solution of attendant problems. The opening session includes a welcome and an introduction to the topic. Other papers address (1) the evolution of the role of women; (2) inflation and investments to insure financial survival; (3) changes business can make to accommodate families; (4) the future of the homemaker; (5) changes in the work men and women do; (6) the relationships among work life, family life, and the earth and what this perspective has to do with education; and (7) an interdisciplinary approach for teaching about work and family. A session that used a series of mini-dramas and panel analyses to consider the impact of health problems on work and family is summarized next. The next paper focuses on identifying and examining myths and realities of work and families and implications for home economics educators. Highlights from discussion groups and seminal ideas from the listening panel are included. The last three papers share results from the current vocational home economics curriculum revision efforts in the Ohio Department of Education; describe the "People Program," an approach to parenting education; and discuss the Home Economics Educational Dynamics project. (YLB)

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PROCEEDINGS

SILVER JUBILEE CONFERENCE

ILLINOIS TEACHER OF HOME ECONOMICS

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WORK LIFE AND FAMILY LIFE

Hazel Taylor Spitze, Editor
Division of Home Economics Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

APRIL 18-21, 1982

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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The objectives of the Conference are to:

1. *Examine the interrelationships between work life and family life for men, women and children, for family and the work place.*
2. *To explore ways in which home economics education can contribute to the solution of some of the attendant problems.*
3. *Make plans and feel committed to share the results of the Conference with others in individual states or regions.*

PLANNING COMMITTEE

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Lynda Harriman, Assistant Professor, Home Economics Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Bessie Hackett, Professor and Head, Home Economics, Illinois State University; Representing American Home Economics Association

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Evelyn Hausman, Associate Professor, Home Economics Education, Kansas State University
Juanita Roberts, Professor, Home Economics Education, Colorado State University
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Introduction and Welcome to the Silver Jubilee Conference

Hazel Taylor Spitze

Welcome to the second national, invitational conference to be sponsored by *Illinois Teacher!* The first one (as those of you who were here remember) was in 1978 when we "came of age" at 21 and it was titled "Current Concerns in Home Economics Education." You received a copy of the Proceedings of that conference when you registered here today. It was a great stimulation to many people, including us!

In preparation for that conference we conducted a Delphi study of over 200 leaders in Home Economics Education to see what they felt were the current concerns at that time. The results were included in the Proceedings which you have in your hand (p. 5). Some months ago we updated that study, and I thought you might be interested in knowing whether the results showed any change. The respondents were 40% of those we wrote to ask for nominations for this conference. This time we asked for responses on only the first two sections of what you see in the Proceedings of the Current Concerns conference: the issues and the societal problems. We listed all of those you see there and asked them to add their own and include all in the ranking. This ranking in 1981 from 190 leaders in home economics education resulted in the following:

1. What ISSUES should Home Economics be concerning itself with most now?
    1. Political participation and/or power of Home Economics groups
    2. Changing lifestyles
    3. Conservation of non-renewable resources
    4. Changing societal roles
    5. Sources of energy
    6. Changing marital forms

    106 Other Issues were mentioned but none were predominant.

2. What SOCIETAL PROBLEMS should Home Economics be trying hardest to help solve?
    1. Inflation
    2. Child abuse
    3. Energy shortage
    4. Deteriorating environment
    5. Unemployment
    6. Consumers' lack of power
    7. World food problem
    8. Marital discord
    9. Sexism

    87 Other Problems were mentioned. The most predominant in random order were:
    1. Stress
    2. Abuse of other family members
    3. The elderly
    4. Drug abuse
    5. Housing
    6. Teenage pregnancy

Now we are celebrating our 25th anniversary thinking about one of the big issues of our day, "Interrelationships between Work Life and Family Life." We expect to enjoy another stimulating three days together. You were invited, as were those who attended the first one, because someone nominated you as a leader in Home Economics Education. Nominations were made by state and local supervisors of home economics education, teacher educators, Extension Directors in Home Economics, and others. We are pleased that you accepted our invitation and that you are here.

At the close of this first session tonight we invite all of you to a reception in honor of the founder of *Illinois Teacher of Home Economics*, Letitia Walsh, who was chairperson of Home Economics Education here from 1944 until she retired in 1962. She was a leader in our field and many of her students are leaders now or still exerting influence though recently retired: Alberta Hill, Elizabeth Simpson, Phyllis Lowe, Margaret Barkley, Anna Gorman, Mary Lee Hurt, Evelyn Rouner, Marjorie Savage, Emma Whiteford, and Rita Youmans. Miss Walsh died in 1978 at the age of 84.

In the beginning, 25 years ago, *Illinois Teacher* was a mimeographed stapled document with no cover, typed by an undergraduate student. Each issue was written by a graduate student for university credit or a faculty member in Home Economics Education or both together. It is amazing to me that those early issues are still useful. They must have been way ahead of their time! There were nine per year and they were sent to alumnae the first year for one dollar. The second year the subscription was $2.00.

About four years later, others began to hear about *Illinois Teacher* and to want to subscribe, and a cover was added. My involvement with *Illinois Teacher* began with Volume VI. With Volume VIII we reduced the number of issues per year to six and with volume XV to five, but no reduction in pages per volume. From volume XII to XVI the title was changed to "Illinois Teacher for Contemporary Roles." I never liked that and I changed it back to *Illinois Teacher of Home Economics* with volume XVII which it has remained.

With volume VII the subscription was raised to $3.00 per year and with volume XII to $5.00. Again with volume XVIII, we raised it to $7.50 and we let it remain there for 8 years of inflation, a mistake for us financially from which we are trying to recover. Last year we increased the subscription to $10.00 and next year it will be $12.00. We are trying to economize in all possible ways to keep the subscription as low as possible (e.g., I had no grad assistant this year), but will have to manage to get back "in the black" where we were until the last 2 years.

We don't know how many subscribers we had in those early days, but by volume XII we had 3850. A big jump in 1971/72 got us to 4925 and we climbed to 5700 in 1973/74. The next year we had to raise the subscription rate and we dropped back to 4990 but climbed to 5640 two years later. Subscriptions declined slightly for three years after that but were back to 5600 in 1980/81. This year we had a subscription rate increase again and we're hoping we won't slip substantially this time.

We have subscribers in every state, with the highest numbers in California, Texas, Illinois (all over 300), and Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York (all over 200), but some states with smaller populations have high *percentages* of subscribers. We also have a substantial number of subscribers in Canada and Australia and small numbers in 18 other foreign countries. A recent addition was Qatar which asked that their several subscriptions be sent by *air* mail. Money is no object there. Our subscribers are mostly Home Economics teachers, teacher educators, supervisors, and libraries, but increasingly Extension Home Economists and others. A few years ago a survey showed that 73% of the institutions of higher education in the United States that prepare Home Economics teachers use *Illinois Teacher* regularly in their teacher education programs and 83% had it available in their libraries or classrooms.

The purposes of *Illinois Teacher* are (1) to serve as one means of in-service education for secondary teachers, (2) to stimulate thinking, raise questions and explore new frontiers in the field, and (3) to contribute toward the continuing growth of the profession.

We frequently have requests to reprint from textbook authors, other journals, curriculum developers, professors preparing class materials, students writing dissertations, Extension home economists, and many others. Last year there were 55.

We have 23 exchange subscriptions with other journals, so our Resource Center is enriched without the usual expenditure.

We offer back issues for sale and these sales sometimes exceed 3000 per year.

Illinois Teacher is a "drawing card" for visitors on travel grants, both domestic and foreign. One of those visits from Australia resulted in our receiving a big check for new subscribers. The two largest checks we ever got were $1800.00 from the state of Queensland in Australia and $1400.00 from the city of Houston. We were proud, grateful, and humbled by these shows of confidence.

With volume XII we started including authors from outside Illinois and with volume XVII, we began having Guest Editors for one issue per year. (Guest editors stand up!) They have been from Illinois, Pennsylvania, Washington, Iowa, Georgia, Wisconsin, Arizona, Minnesota, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Texas. Two other states are in line. If your state wants to be considered for a special issue, let me know.

Faculty involvement has varied and generally has been in addition to a full time load of teaching, advising, research, service, and the other things professors do. Usually one member has been Editor, often others have been responsible for individual issues, sometimes not. One year, before our recent financial crisis, I had the high privilege of being full-time Editor.

Student involvement is voluntary but we encourage all to submit manuscripts. We try to see that they get acquainted with *Illinois Teacher* as a resource and that they realize it is a unique feature of the University of Illinois.

We have one non-academic employee in charge of the bookkeeping and clerical part of *Illinois Teacher,* Norma Huls, and she is assisted by undergraduate student workers.

We always invite your suggestions for improving our journal and for ways to make it known to more home economists and others who might find it helpful. We also invite you to submit articles for consideration in future issues. (You may want to pick up while you're here a copy of our "Information for Prospective Authors.")

I have been doing several things this year, while I am, theoretically at least, on sabbatical, to try to improve *Illinois Teacher.* I am interviewing editors of other professional journals for ideas on both editorial matters and business matters. I am studying other journals. I am doing a reader survey of 100 teachers. I am asking some leaders in our field to identify the most important principles that should be taught in high school in the various subject areas of Home Economics. I hope it will all pay off—for you as a subscriber as well as for us.

The theme for next year is "The Role of Home Economics in Revitalizing the Economy." How do *you* think we can assist in the revitalization? We'd be interested in your ideas for future themes.

Again, welcome! Have a good three days.

Now it is my extreme pleasure to introduce as our opening speaker one of my very favorite people. I call her one of the giants in Home Economics today and equal to the giants of the past. It is our good fortune—all of us in Home Economics—that she is serving as Executive Director of the American Home Economics Association. We need such a leader in these troubled times. We are proud that she was recognized by others in similar positions and elected president of the Association of Association Executives, the second woman to hold that office.

Kinsey, we thank you for coming. We wish you could stay for the entire conference but we understand why that is not possible. We are delighted to have you to speak to us on "Families and Work: Conflict or Confluence."

Fellow home economists, I give you Dr. Kinsey B. Green.

Families and Work: Confluence or Conflict?

Kinsey B. Green
Executive Director
American Home Economics Association
Washington, D.C.

Said Tolstoy in his novel *Anna Karenina:* "Happy families are all alike; every *un*happy family is unhappy in its own way." Without implying that families who work are unhappy, the analogy pertains: each family is unique in its relationship to work. So many variables influence the relationship: Who works? At what? What rewards are intrinsic? Who does work at home while the worker is working elsewhere? How do the workers feel about their work? About their families? What risks and costs are attendant to the work?

It is significant that this conference was not titled Families *or* Work; intentionally the conjunction *and* was used. The interaction between the two is a given. Why, then, have we been so slow to study, analyze, evaluate, predict and improve the relationships between the two systems? Both work and families are social systems; both work and families are economic systems. They *must* interact. But with what quality, what intensity, what results? All are negotiable. Both are unbiquitous. Said Studs Terkel in his remarkable document *Working* (1974):

> To earn one's bread by the sweat of one's brow has always been the lot of mankind. At least, ever since Eden's slothful couple was served with an eviction notice. The scriptural precept was never doubted, not out loud. No matter how demeaning the task, no matter how it dulls the senses and breaks the spirit, one *must* work. Or else. (p. xii)

Or else what? Work at what? At what advantage and at what cost to the family? At what cost to the market does the family pervade? What is the goodness of fit between the two constructs?

Assumptions about the Family-Work Relationship

The premises of our examination of the relationship between families and work must first be stated.

1. The relationship between families and work is not a simplistic concept. The issue is far more complicated than providing day care for young children of working mothers, which even the often-touted General Mills Study (1981) implies.
2. The problems in the relationship will grow more, not less complex as the society becomes more technologically oriented. The dilemmas now are more complex than when we were an agrarian society, with work accomplished in the home environment, and all family members participating. According to Coles (1981):

> This country was settled by families for whom work was a shared experience. Mothers, fathers, children, relatives and neighbors all joined hands in the struggle to obtain shelter, make clothing, survive the ravages of illness, and win food from an often unyielding land. There was no great antagonism between family life and work. Families worked as a unit in agriculture, and later in crafts and commerce.
>
> Nor were children regarded as helpless. At eight or nine they were, more likely than not, already workers themselves.
>
> Today, too, work dominates the lives of millions of conscientious families, desirous of living a comfortable life. But the nature of both the family and work have changed, and with them the strains that work exerts on family bonds. (p.. 28)

3. It is the responsibility of professionals, especially home economists, to evaluate the relationship from a *family* perspective, not just from the angle of the worker. The family as a social and economic system is the unit on which we must focus our analysis and our evaluation.
4. Especially we must not be limited to the fact of working women and the relationship of that concern to families and work. Having said that, let me hasten to add that the single most significant factor causing attention to the relationship between families and work is the expansion of women in the work force, which demographer and human resource specialist Ginzburg has called "the phenomenon of the century." Ginzburg has avowed that the employment of women is the most important economic change in the 20th Century—even more important than the rise of Communism or the growth of the European Common Market. The long-term implications are ". . . absolutely unchartable . . . the cumulative consequences will only be revealed in the 21st or 22nd century" (Bird, 1979, p. xiii).
5. There are economic and social aspects of the relationship between families and work especially as working wives, mothers, and daughters are concerned. Women work for economic need and for personal fulfillment but also because the country needs to use that great untapped human resource. Some observers of the Houston celebration of the decade of women noted that the clear division among delegates was not by race, social class or geography, but by aspirations of the delegates. Conflicts between the Stop ERA and Right to Life forces and employed women who had been ". . . out in the world long enough to see the need for some changes in it" (Bird, 1979, p. xii) were cited. Continued Bird, "High or low, working women were able to see the explicit ways in which they are penalized for earning money in a world that still classes them as economic dependents." It is noteworthy that the most radical of feminists now espouse the view that we must talk no longer of freeing women from the home and from the family but work toward the congruence and integration of both systems, recogniz-

ing that both are omnipresent, both are essential, each has trade-offs (Friedan, 1981).

6. The connection between families and work is not a one-way cause and effect (i.e., how does work affect the family?) but at least a two-way street. Pursuing the analogy of the highway system, we might even say the connection is a beltway; cyclical in nature, with many entrances and exits, for the many intersections of roles of individuals as family members and as workers are dynamic, not static; complex, not simple; and positive as well as negative.
7. The closer the integration of values between family life and work life, the less dissonance results. Only as one's philosophy and mission in life is lived out as a family member, as a worker and as a community citizen, does integration, indeed peace, come. One of the finest essays in *The Prophet* (Gibran) is "Work."

> Work is love made visible.
> And when we work with love,
> We bind ourselves to ourselves, to each other and to God.

How many in the audience have ever experienced a conflict between family commitments and work commitments? According to Cushing "Work is the master word . . . the open sesame to every portal, the great equalizer in the world, the true philosopher's stone which transmutes all the base metal of humanity into gold."

If work is so all-encompassing, so great, how can the conflicts be so awful? Do women workers feel that work is the "great equalizer"?

How many in the audience have ever been glad to leave family to go to work? or relieved to leave work to go home? Use of one as respite from the other is a very poignant example of the interrelationships between the two.

It is not the purpose of this paper to cite the statistics of how many workers engage in which types of work or what kinds of family structures they represent. Rather, it is my role to identify the major concepts and issues inherent in the relationship and the implications of the relationships for the social and economic order, and especially for the professions.

Frameworks for the Analysis of Family and Work Relationships

There are at least five theoretical frameworks which might be useful in analyzing the myriad of intersections between families and work.

Family Interaction. This approach to studying the family seems more useful than the developmental or institutional/historical or structural/functional approaches, though each has some important and pertinent constructs. The interactional-situational theoretical framework concentrates on the situation per se *and* the individual or family's *definition of the situation* (Stryker, 1964). The family is not a closed system; interactions with the market and with other institutions, such as the church, government, media, educational system, are critical. Interactional theory also gives priority to the concept of *role*. The change in family roles as one assumes worker roles, and vice versa are important considerations. There is a reciprocal relationship between family and work in role perception, in situation and in definition of situation, and therefore in value systems, in need fulfillment, in resource exchange. Is the cause and effect a linear relationship? a two-way interaction? correlational?

Power Structure. The early work of Bales (1965) and Blood and Wolfe *et. al.* (1965) concluded that whoever contributes the most resources to a relationship has the most power. Therefore, if more than one worker is contributing monetary resources to a family, the power will shift from locus when only one worker provided financing. The "principle of least interest" (i.e., whoever needs the relationship the least has the most power) also pertains. Economic independence will pave the way to power in a family context. If more than one worker is potentially independent, less stress and abuse will be tolerated by all. Two manifestations of this power principle are the delegation of tasks in the home and the assumption of decisions. Who decides what and who does what in the household? The concept that everyone is a homemaker underwrites the participation of all in home tasks.

Exchange theory. Resources are the commodity for the exchange. By definition, resources are finite and therefore limited. Therefore, time, money, psychic strength, energy spent at work cannot be spent on the family. The self-development, access to power, and monetary gains from engaging in work must balance the resource investment for a satisfactory relationship to evolve. Monetary gains from the workplace may make the conservation of resources (i.e., via purchase of labor-saving appliances, external manpower, services) possible. Commitments in one may even be used as an exchange escape for commitments in others. For instance, Bird (1979) reports studies of women who have chosen to have a child to avoid a rung on the career ladder too high, too demanding and too risky.

Need fulfillment. Any needs theory might be used; I find Maslow's particularly useful (1970). Using his theory of a universal needs hierarchy, which of the needs are fulfilled by the family context and which by the work environment and participation? Is it possible that family is responsible for fulfillment of physiological and safety need fulfillment; family and work overlap at the acceptance level; and work is expected to fulfill self-esteem and self-actualization needs? Terkel (1974) in the introduction to his volume reiterated the contribution of work to need fulfillment:

> It [this book] is about a search, too, for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying. Perhaps immortality, too, is part of the quest. To be remembered was the wish, spoken and unspoken, of the heroes and heroines of this book. (p. xi)

The wish to be self-actualized and to be immortalized through work creates a life cycle at work, analogous to the life cycle of the family. Work previously thought to be linear in nature rather than cyclical, might transcend one lifetime, one generation, by passing the gauntlet of tasks, commitment, work, on to others.

Vatter hypothesized that women work for need at the lower socio-economic levels, for want at the middle levels

and for self-actualization at the upper levels (Bird, 1979). Ironically, the more challenging a position, the more fulfilling and stimulating, the more commitment that job is likely to take, thereby decreasing time, physical energy and psychic strength to spend at home.

Economic Theory. Becker (1981) has completed the most thorough and the most provocative work on the examination of the family as an economic unit. Based on the concepts of limited resources, maximum utility and development of human capital, Becker concludes that specialization of labor must be based on comparative advantage, and that at most, one member of an efficient household would invest in both the market and household capital and would allocate time to both sectors. If the individual is to be most productive, then specialization is imperative. To spread one's time and skills into both household production and market production is to diversify beyond maximum utility, according to Becker. He further develops the theorem that women are more committed to the care and development of children because they have invested more in the production of the children; therefore ". . . since investment differences reinforce biological differences, biological comparative advantage cannot be readily disentangled from specialized investments." (p. 24) Other authorities have commented on the economy of production at home, which is enhanced if one adult is "employed" primarily at home (see for example, Manning *et al.* 1980; Toffler, 1980). Toffler promotes the concept of the prosumer (vis à vis consumer/producer) model as an approach sympathetic to financial survival, conservation of natural resources and enhancement of quality of life. Bird (1979) notes that it is "sexist cost accounting" to talk only of the family costs of the woman's work.

Family, Work and Selected Concepts: Task Allocation; Family Life Cycle; Socioeconomic Status

Another aspect of the relationship between work and family is the delegation of tasks at home and whether they change as the adults in the family participate variously in the labor market. One of the basic precepts of the home economics profession is that "everyone is a homemaker"—and also then a worker, community citizen. But, like Gershwin in "Porgy and Bess," "Tain't necessarily so!" Though individual families boast of sharing the home responsibilities, of equal participation by mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, and though some families expect children to assume their fair share of the work, most research indicates that it is still the wife's and mother's responsibility to manage and maintain the home. Kathryn Walker's data (1976) showed women regardless of employment status, spending more than 40 hours a week on home tasks; the earlier General Mills Study on child-rearing practices (1979) showed less than 2 percent of the men in the sample had ever stayed home with a sick child; the latest study on corporations and two-career families concludes the same (Catalyst Career and Family Center, 1981).

The permeating expectation that it is the woman's responsibility to manage the home and maintain the family is so well documented as to be almost a given. Here the vignette of 77 year old Katherine Haynes of eastern Kentucky, interviewed by Terkel (1974):

> Housework and farmin' is all I done, never worked at nothin' else. Eighteen hours out of every twenty-four. Out-of-doors and then in the house at night. I have worked out in the fodder field and carry it in some time after dark. We'd stack it by moonlight. Never got much rest on what little time I was in bed.
>
> You usually didn't get much rest on Sunday, had to cook for ten children on Sunday. I've raised ten and I had eleven. Three meals a day I cooked on Sunday. I got so I couldn't cook like I used to. I used to be out here just runnin' and cookin' those meals in a few minutes and fillin' the table full. But my mind just jumps from here to there and I can't do that no more. Just hard work, that's all I ever knowed.
>
> I can run circles around every girl I've got in the house today. I'm awful thankful for it, but I won't hold up much longer. I'm a gittin' down. Used to be I could stand and split wood all day long, but now I go out there and split a little while and it hurts the back of my legs to stoop over. But I done awful well I think. (p. 15)

It is virtually a truism that every woman is a "moonlighter"!

In many studies it has been concluded that when women are employed fulltime and unable to manage the home according to their own ideal standards (remember superwoman?), it is home maintenance and personal care that suffer. How many of us can relate to this account?

> One woman won't let her guests hang up their own coats for fear they'll open the wrong door and stumble into the black hole of Calcutta into which she pitches low-priority projects. It contains, among other things, two coats that need buttons, a tennis racket to be restrung, a blender to go to the repair shop, an old fur coat good enough to remodel, a Christmas wrapped bottle of perfume she never got around to delivering in person to a shut-in aunt, mimeographed poetry sent to her by a college chum for review, a dead plant, a rolled-up oil painting of her grandfather to go to the framer's, and a shopping bag full of unanswered letters. (Bird, p. 56)

Does the relationship between family and work change as the stage of the family life cycle changes? The literature seems to imply that the connections are more critical when the family is young and the children are small.

One of the limitations to the utility of the usual concept of the family life cycle is that it only pertains to families with children, for in procreation lies the attribute of the cyclical nature. What defines the life cycle for families without young? Years ago Farber (1961) suggested the possibility of using one's work life to define that evolution and suggested that a family is a set of "contingent careers." Is the development still cyclical?

Family responsibilities, work and socioeconomic status present another interesting interaction of variables. Women are in the work force for economic need (no longer the "cakewinners"), first and foremost; self-fulfillment is an important reason, but a secondary one (Coles, 1981). It would seem then, that homemakers in high level jobs, with higher levels of compensation, would be better able to cope with the conflicts between work and family responsibilities. According to Fogarty (1971),

> . . . high personal commitment to work and heavy family demands complicate the women workers' life . . . women working at high levels have exceptional resources for dealing with their family problems. They are by definition people of high intelligence, usually highly educated, and likely, seeing the sort of work that they do, to be capable organizers . . . Money, if not, exactly the answer to all family problems, does certainly oil the wheels in matters such as housing, home help and maintenance, shopping, transport and holidays.

Executive women, however, report that their job demands make it increasingly difficult to assume responsibility for young children and/or aging parents. The highest paid women executives are half again as likely to be divorced as their counterparts in middle class jobs. Internationally, other things being equal, the proportion of wives working falls off the higher the husband rises on his country's income sale. The type of work at which the income is earned is a critical variable also. Women entrepreneurs must adjust to demands that affect their home lives even more than do corporate jobs.

Bird (1979) noted that

> . . . equality is harder at the top than at the bottom. . . The higher a man's income, the more he needs the emotional, social and housekeeping support of a traditional wife. The higher a woman's income, the less she needs the economic and social support of a husband. (p. 53)

Other socioeconomic considerations surface when the facts are reviewed. Women constitute the majority of part-time workers, so benefit policies which discriminate against part-timers hurt women workers the most. Poverty families are disproportionately families headed by women, especially by minority women. Many women first went into the labor market to furnish extras for the family, a college education or down payment on the house, that is, to "help the family out." Coles (1981) describes the financial plight in its relationship to the necessity of jobs: American families are:

> . . . individuals who "wake up with work on the mind and go to sleep exhausted from work!"
>
> Our present economic situation, with its recessionary and inflationary pressures, has forced millions of Americans to hold on to jobs for dear life, or struggle hard to find them, or, indeed, take on additional work, so that even weekends or evenings are no longer inviolate—sacred time for oneself, one's wife or husband, one's children. . .
>
> Hard-pressed men and women are worrying about their children and paying a certain personal cost as members of a family, in order, ironically, to keep that same family in reasonably solid financial shape. (pp. 29-30)

Family and work are inextricably linked to socioeconomic status, since by definition, such status is normally based on source of income, not amount; address and type of housing; and job title.

Other Relationships: Which is Cause and Which Effect?

Do families choose a location and housing because of access to work or vice versa? It is well documented that families with a handicapped member overturn heaven and earth to locate housing and work which facilitates the care and development of the handicapped member. A young mother with cerebral palsied twins related to me recently how she and her husband had engaged in "an easy decision to make, a difficult thing to do" when he turned down a lucrative job offer, exactly what he wanted, because the new city had no program for the twins. His parent's response? Support, empathy? No! Silence for two months at the "ignorance" of giving up such a salary!

Does career advancement correlate with incidence of divorce? Economist Shirley Johnson of Vassar says that for every one thousand dollars increase in the wife's earnings her chances of divorce increase by two percent (Bird 1979, p. 13).

Have jobs for women caused the growth of day care facilities, or have day care facilities enabled women to work? Does the quality of child care suffer if the mother works? The research results are conflicting.

Are decisions to have or not have children made on the basis of priority career decisions? Some authorities say that the increase in numbers of wives and mothers working was occasioned not by the pill but by the opportunity to work. Did the desire to work create the demand for birth control technology or did advanced family planning knowledge and technology enable women to work?

Are working mothers and wives healthier and happier? The net conclusion of multiple investigations is that full-time homemakers are apt to say they are happy, but working wives are better off by almost every objective test: incidence of illness, general inertia, psychomatic symptoms, coping ability, intellectual change after high school, life span, leisure activity participation, volunteer activities, physical activity (Bird, 1979).

One very disturbing note on work and families is the documented correlation between unemployment and family violence. A most poignant testimony before the U.S. Congress in hearings on the pressures of a unhealthy economy was given in the mid-seventies by an unemployed worker in Flint, Michigan, who spoke of the "sitting on a powder keg" environment in the home of the unemployed. Ironically, he recalled, the very loved ones you wish to support by working are those who bear your vengeance at the unfairness of the situation.

Influence of Family Variables on Work Access

Often the discussion of the relationship between families and work examines only the impact of work on families; we needlessly fall into a "work constraints on family" mentality. The obverse of that relationship needs to be analyzed also.

Loring and Wells (1972) documented a correlation between the husband's occupation and education with the wife's opportunity to advance. Both they and Hennig and Jardim (1977) showed a correlation between women's success as workers and their father's education and occupation.

Christopher Jencks (1973) in his famous inequality studies concluded that family (socioeconomic status, education, living conditions, family structure, size and interaction) was the most significant determinant of the outcome of an individual's life, including capacity to achieve in the educational system and in an occupation. In his subsequent *Who Makes It?* studies he drew a similar conclusion regarding the critical variable of family background and context (1979).

Hennig and Jardim (1977) found that executive women were firstborn, had mothers who were warm, caring, socially sanctioned and provided a feminine model; and fathers who were strong and who early treated the daughter as a person in her own right.

Internationally, the Oriental and European nations have been slow to accept women in management positions because of their perception of women's role in the family as nurturing, supportive and subordinate (Burrows, 1976).

Implications of Family-Work Relationships for the Professions

The implications of the data on the relationship between family concepts and work, and the unanswered questions and unexamined issues raise many implications.

a. *Consumer market.* Who shops? Will the entry of women in the labor market change the proportion of gross income which is discretionary? How much time will be spent selecting goods and services in order to save task time and energy?

b. *Labor market.* Indications are that younger, more educated women will replace older, less educated men as new work roles are created, for which older workers are deemed not worthy of retooling. Corporations with "promote from within" policies which did not have women or minorities in line for management positions previously may have to forego that promotion policy in order to obtain the most educated and competent workers. The "best of all worlds" approach to business and industry would mix the sensitivity and humaneness of the women, as socialized from birth, with the capacity to be a team member and to make hard-nosed financial and political decisions, at which men are apparently more skilled than women. Already negative impacts on women and minorities have been seen as unemployment, related to the nation's economic recovery plans, increases.

   Growth of "work at home" businesses and industries and services should be promoted by the professions, so that the flexibility of meeting both work and family demands is enhanced. Work is then at the home site with all family members better able to comprehend what the work is and to participate in its execution. The return of "cottage industries" and the advent of at-home computerized capacity for data storage and for communication enhances this opportunity (Toffler, 1980; Lambrecht and McClelland, 1982; Nilles, 1982).

c. *Changing power structures in the family.* Contribution of resources to the family coffers by more than one worker will almost surely shift the power balance away from a patriarchal model to a more egalitarian one as resource contributors expect also to participate in the decisions and in the influence.

d. *Changing family structures.* Already documented are more couples deciding not to have children, individuals marrying later after education has been completed and career development begun, and more variations on the nuclear family structure. Economic independence for more than one adult in the family may mean more divorce and less subjection to violence and other intolerable conditions, since the "no exit" syndrome will no longer pertain.

e. *Social, economic and political policy.* Equal pay for equal work, equal pay for comparable work, and inheritance laws are among the most critical issues in the Equal Rights Amendment controversy and in sex discrimination suits. The expansion of women in the labor market with concomitant documentation of "real" (vis à vis equivalent worth) financial contributions to the family will exacerbate these issues. Day care issues, flextime, job sharing and nepotism rules are all considerations which both employees and employers must address.

   Every major policy study on the family in the last decade and a half has concluded that the first priority in improving the quality of life for families is full employment for the breadwinner. Balancing a federal budget at the expense of work for those who support others is a fallacious and dangerous policy precedent.

f. *Periodicals industry.* There are differences now in the materials read by families and workers. One recent survey showed news publications as top priority; women's magazines, especially those with articles on management and increasing efficiency as second choices; and sports, movie and romance publications running a poor third.

g. *Organizational behavior.* Women will join organizations, party affiliations, societies, religious and community groups for continuing education, as a vehicle for building a network of support and as a means of investment in self-development that men have historically known. As involvement increases, more accession to leadership positions will ensue.

i. *Community services.* There is a growing need for respite care services, especially for young children, handicapped or elderly family members, to augment the care families are able to provide, in order to allow family members to work at paid employment.

j. *Home Economics as a part of vocational education.* Historically home economics has been funded as a part of vocational education under two premises—that homemaking is an occupation, though not included in the Social Security system nor as a factor in the gross national product; and the factor of high transferability of management and interpersonal relationship skills learned in the family context and the workplace. These principles become even more salient as there is an increase in the numbers of individuals from a given family moving into the labor market and as the necessity of increasing productivity in the home, in a strict and precise economic sense, heightens.

k. *Helping professions, especially home economics.* The mission of home economics is to enable families

to function in their own strength—through an educational, preventive, developmental process. That mission must accommodate changes in life patterns, living standards and resources utilization attributable to changes in labor market participation, family structure and role changes.

All of these factors and relationships indicate the need for interdisciplinary research on work and family systems and for a reevaluation of programs and delivery systems.

Families and work—inextricable linkages, unresolved conflicts, potential for untold development. Home economists must be in the vanguard of this evolution.

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Of Women, Work and Families*

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This paper is concerned with the evolution of the role of women from the "traditional" housewife to one that now encompasses at least recurrent labor force participation as well as continued "household responsibilities," and examines both the causes and effects of these developments. The first section briefly sets forth the nature of what is now generally regarded as the traditional family. The second section discusses the causes for the increasing labor force participation of women. The third section is devoted to an investigation of what we have so far learned about the effects of this change in woman's role on the family. The last section attempts to gauge the outlook for the future, based on what we have learned about the past and present.

I. The "Traditional Family." The family which consists of a male head, who is the breadwinner, and a dependent female, who is a fulltime homemaker, is not an institution that has existed since time immemorial, nor one that has ever been universal.

In pre-capitalist economies, when the family enterprise was the dominant economic unit, all family members capable of working participated in production. There was always some specialization and division of labor. Adult males generally undertook tasks which required the greatest physical strength, and those which necessitated prolonged absences. Mature women often did work involving great endurance. Children and the elderly would do less exacting tasks. But everyone participated in productive activity (Delger, 1980, p. 5). This was true not only among primitive societies, but in the pre-industrial period in the U.S. The husband would tend the horses and plow the fields; the wife might milk the cows and feed the chickens. Grandma was likely to sew, knit and participate in the care of infants; grandpa helped repair equipment and furniture, and the children collected the eggs and churned the butter.

It was only when production moved into factories and "work," for the most part, became employment, that the situation changed significantly. Adult men more often accepted jobs away from home. While this was also true for many poor women,[1] and even children, and many others continued to contribute to family income by taking in boarders, doing piecework at home, working in a family enterprise, etc., middle class wives increasingly became facilitators of consumption rather than "producers," and many working class wives aspired to this role.[2] The heavy burden those 'working women' carried makes this understandable. It was then that the "traditional" housewife first came into existence.

Women's activities were increasingly confined to the care of children, the nurturing of husband, and the maintenance of the home (Degler, 1980, p. 26). They were seen as private, nonproductive, domesticated, expressive and important (Oakley, 1980, p. 8). The true woman's place was unquestionably by her own fireside—as daughter, sister, but most of all as wife and mother. Therefore, domesticity was among the virtues most prized (Welter, 1978, p. 320). There was no longer a farm right outside the house, or a shop downstairs, where she could work with the children trailing along, or while dinner was cooking. At the same time, household size declined because there was a decline in boarders, servants, siblings or parents living with couples (Korbin, 1978, p. 69). One effect of this was to reduce the number of adults in households to help take care of youngsters, while at the same time the period of childhood, when such care was deemed necessary, was considerably extended. Thus the typical "traditional" family emerged.

According to the stereotype of this family, the responsibility to be the breadwinner rested squarely on the shoulders of the man. If the woman also entered the labor market, it generally was assumed she was either compen-

*The authors have drawn freely from a manuscript prepared for the Assembly of Behavioral and Social Sciences of the National Research Council: "Families That Work: Children in a Changing World" forthcoming as chapter of a book.

[1]As Tilly and Scott point out, young women of the working class were commonly expected to work and to turn over their earnings to the family. It was considerably less common for married women to work, but they generally did when the family was in urgent need of more money income.

[2]A broader and more reasonable concept of production would include many household activities. Economists have, in recent years, pointed out that combining purchased items with services to provide commodities for direct use is, in fact, a form of production. Sociologists have suggested "the only difference between production and consumption is the 'timetable' on which utility is obtained. On the one hand, it is possible to obtain some satisfactions (and dissatisfactions) immediately through the performance of a particular activity. We normally call this consumption. On the other hand, it is possible to obtain utility some time after the commodities are produced. This is viewed as production." (Berk and Berk, 1979, p. 32)

Common usage, however, ignores these views. We all know that women who are asked whether they 'work' are expected to, and generally do answer either "yes, I have a job," or "no, I am a housewife." For convenience this word is often used in that sense. The hidden rationale, not altogether unrealistic, implies that "work" and "production" refers to activities which determine the socio-economic status of the family. In earlier days, husband and wife both were productive in this sense, each contributing to output in the family enterprises. But with the Industrial Revolution came the loss of this production function of the family (Kanter, 1977, p. 7). It is now the earnings of the man (along with whatever unearned income some families may receive) that determines the kind of house the family will live in and the neighborhood where it will be located, the schools the children will go to, and the amount of consumer durables and other goods the family can buy. The activities of the homemaker, no doubt, make a great difference in the neatness within the house, and perhaps the yard without, helping the children with homework, choosing and maintaining the durables, and the extent to which meals are enjoyable occasions as opposed to simply a way of filling the stomach. If she does well, life will be more pleasant for the family, but it is the husband's job (or inherited wealth) that determines whether they are upper-class, middle-class, or poor. The husband is the breadwinner, and how much of it he wins is more crucial than the way the wife slices and serves it.

sating for his inadequacy, working for pin money, or selfishly pursuing a career at the expense of her household responsibilities. If the children worked while they lived at home they presumably did so in order to be able to spend on extras, or perhaps because the parents thought it was good for their moral fiber, but usually only among the poor did they work to raise the family's standard of living.

The responsibility for spending the family's money, and for determining and distributing its savings was not as clearly allocated. But here, too, there were some accepted norms. The wife made most of the purchases, with the exception of the house, the car, and possibly some other durables. This does not mean, however, that she made the decisions on these expenditures. It was generally the husband who decided how much money was to be allocated to various categories of goods and services, or even individual items. For those he used, he was likely to tell her exactly what to buy, as, on occasion the children may have done. In other words, for many types of goods the wife was the purchasing agent, rather than the decision maker even when she did the shopping. She was even less likely to have the main say regarding major items often purchased by the couple jointly, or in determining what type of financial assets to accumulate (Davis, 1976).

While more and more goods and services used by households gradually came to be produced outside the home, a great deal of time and effort was still required to acquire them, maintain them, and use them to produce the kind of standard of living to which American families aspired. It was the wife who had the responsibility for doing this, as well as for providing the many services required to maintain a family. The husband may have "helped" with "her household responsibilities", but not to the extent that it might interfere with his work. Even short of that, she was not to expect him to do more than he volunteered of his own accord, for fear of being considered a demanding wife. Indeed, her great virtue was submissiveness (Skolnick and Skolnick, 1977, p. 68). She could ask, or even require the children to do some chores, if these did not interfere with their education or jobs, and preferably only to the extent that these tasks furthered their own development and growth.

As we have seen, the responsibilities of providing for the family were quite different for each member. But the benefits the family could provide were conferred on everyone equally, to the extent that they were available communally, and according to need, to the extent that they were allocated to individuals separately. It was, however, primarily the "head of the household" who, in the final analysis, determined the family's life-style, both by being responsible for the money income on which it so crucially depended, and by making the most important decisions, providing the parameters within which the other members of the family had to operate.

This was the "traditional" family, once widely accepted as the ideal Americans would strive to achieve. Ironically, while poor women who had to work outside the home may have wished they could emulate the middle class housewife, better educated and more affluent women came to question the desirability of their role as full-time homemaker. As a result, we have seen dramatic increases in the labor force participation of women.

II. Labor Force Participation: Causes. The employed mother, once the exception, is now the rule. By 1980 almost 57 percent of all women with children under age 18 were in the labor force, as were almost 51 percent of married women, husband present. Even more surprising is the labor force participation rate of 45 percent for wives with children under age six, and this is where labor force participation is increasing most rapidly. As might be expected, a substantial literature has arisen dealing with causes and effects of the rapid influx of women into the labor market. Much of it tends to emphasize the importance of economic factors in bringing about these changes, but the picture remains seriously incomplete unless the interdependence between economic influences and changes in attitudes and social norms are recognized. The wife's level of education, the number of children in the family, changing technology in household production, improved labor market opportunities for women and changes in tastes for market vs. non-market goods all have been found to be related to labor force participation of married women. But correlation does not amount to explanation: the casual connection can be in either or sometimes in both directions.

More education has a positive effect on labor force participation. A more highly educated woman can command a higher market wage and get a more interesting and enjoyable job, while the value of her time at home probably increases only to a lesser extent.[3] But investment in education itself is, to a considerable extent, made in anticipation of entering the labor market. Thus arguing that women decide to work outside the home because they have more education is, in the main, putting the cart before the horse. While some women acquire most of their education, and most women some of their education for purposes other than obtaining a better job, most do so because they expect to spend much of their adult lives working outside the home. It is also entirely plausible that women who no longer accept the traditional housewife role would be more likely both to get more education and to enter the labor market.

Declining number of children has a positive effect on labor force participation. No one would dispute this obvious fact. But, partly as a result of improvements in birth control technology, it is increasingly unrealistic to accept the number of children as a "given" to which the woman must adjust. A number of studies[4] have found that attitudes toward labor force participation influence intended child-bearing. It has also been found that the presence of children is no longer considered overwhelmingly important in the decision whether to work for pay.[5] Thus we may conclude that the association of fewer children and "working" mothers is in significant part

[3]There is considerable evidence that education has a positive effect on efficiency in child rearing (Leibowitz, 1975), but none that it does so for other types of housework. It would be interesting to study whether efficiency is increased by education in home economics.

[4]E. G. Tichmayer and Smith-Lavin (1977) and Waite and Stolzenberg (1976).

[5]Ferber (forthcoming) found only 37 percent of "working" wives and 55 percent of housewives claimed children had a great deal of influence on their decision whether or not to take a job, and fully 30 percent of the former and 20 percent of the latter stated children had no influence on their decision at all. This was so even though 80 percent had young children.

caused by the decision of these women to have fewer children because they plan to work outside the home.

Changing technology has decreased the need for housework and made possible increased labor force participation. It was, however, found that as recently as the nineteen-seventies housewives were spending about as much time on household tasks as had been the case a century earlier.[6] Appliances and purchased goods and services are apparently used in the main not to reduce work-time, but to achieve a higher standard of living. Also, when less time is needed for some activities, others are substituted. Only the woman in the labor market appears to use the new products as labor saving devices. But here again we have the chicken and egg question. Are we to assume that supply came first, generating, in due course, demand? No doubt this happened at times. But surely the increased demand by "working" women was also a factor in encouraging the sale of new goods and services.

Increased opportunities in the labor market have made increased participation by women possible. Some of the clerical and service occupations which have a disproportionately large representation of women have indeed expanded more rapidly than employment as a whole. Again, the question is whether the increase was caused by an increase in demand, supply, or some of each. If it were demand, one would expect earnings in these occupations to have increased relative to others, while in fact the opposite was the case.[7] It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that, in part, women's occupations expanded because the large supply of women kept their wages low, even though demand may well have shifted upward at the same time.

It is also suggested that increasing demand for market commodities has caused women to enter the labor market to earn more money. Certainly this would be true in some instances. But if there had been a major change of this sort one would also expect the labor supply of men to have increased, perhaps by working longer hours, more weeks a year, or more years in a lifetime. Yet, the change in all these respects has been in the opposite direction. The casual relationships, once again, may have been reversed. The growing demand for purchased commodities may be the result of women working rather than vice versa.

Thus, we take the view that changing attitudes have played an important part in increasing the labor force participation of married women. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that attitudes are not shaped in a vacuum but are influenced by other factors. Some of the more obvious developments in this respect were the Civil Rights movement with its emphasis on equal opportunity for all, and the two World Wars, which showed that women could perform many jobs from which they had previously been excluded. Growing conern with the population explosion and decreased infant mortality caused a high birth rate to be viewed as less desirable. Growing life expectancy provided more years during which homemaking was not necessarily a full-time job. Legislation in the 1960's and 70's made discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. More recently, affirmative action programs have been introduced to redress past inequities and increase opportunities for women. Clearly, these changes in the environment helped to shape new attitudes which in turn helped to shape the environment.

In discussing the subject of attitudes toward labor force participation, we have so far not touched upon the question of the relative importance of the preferences of husband and wife.[8] Much of the research that has been done introduced the attitude of the husband as an independent variable. The results invariably showed that this factor was significantly related to the wife's labor force participation, and were interpreted to show that the former helped to determine the latter. One study, using longitudinal data (Ferber, forthcoming), however, found evidence that the casual relationship is, at least to some extent, the other way around. In other words, the wife's labor force status appears to influence the husband's attitude.

III. Labor Force Participation: Effects. The increase in paid employment of women would be expected to influence every aspect of family life, and the life of every member of the family. This subject is such a broad one that it would be unrealistic to attempt to encompass it in one paper. We have, therefore, chosen to focus only on a few of the areas that might be of particular interest to this audience.

1. Income. The contribution of married women to their family consists of their earnings and of their household production. Earnings are relatively easily measured in dollar terms; the difficulty lies in explaining why they are so small relative to the earnings of men. Household production is surprisingly large relative to that of men; the difficulty is in determining how to measure its value in dollar terms. The ratio of the median earnings of full time, year-round women workers to that of men's has dropped from about 63 percent in the mid 1950's to 59 percent in 1977 (Barrett, 1979; Women's Bureau, 1979). This earnings gap cannot be explained fully by age, education, or prior work experience. It holds true in all regions of the country, and for both Blacks and Whites.[9] One factor that does play an important role in creating the discrepancy between men's and women's wages is occupational segregation. More than two-thirds of employed women hold jobs in "female" occupations (Barrett, 1979). "Female" occupations traditionally tend to be characterized by low pay and limited opportunities for advancement. Estimates of the contribution occupational segregation makes to the earnings gap vary from those who suggest that most of it could be accounted for by differences in occupational distribution, if we had a sufficiently detailed breakdown of categories (Sanborn, 1964; Whitman, 1973) to others who suggest that it accounts for only about 5 percent of the earnings gap (Polachek, 1975). Ferber and Lowry (1976a) concluded the truth lies in between.

[6]Vanek (1974).

[7]Ferber and Lowry (1976).

[8]There is also the issue of the influence of other family members, particularly children, but we know of no research on this subject.

[9]The wage gap between non-white women and men is considerably less than that for Whites. Black women earn 23 percent less than Black men while White women earn 53 percent less than White men. However, this is due to Black men earning relatively less, rather than to Black women earning more.

In addition, with the recent rapid influx of women into the labor market, occupational crowding in these fields has contributed to the slow growth of wages, particularly in the clerical field. According to Barrett (1979), median earnings of female, full time clerical workers rose only 4.9 percent in real terms between 1965 and 1975 compared with a 25.4 percent increase for all other female workers over the same ten year period. There is some evidence that among younger women there is a trend away from clerical occupations and toward professional and managerial categories.[10] However, a recent survey of 5,000 women aged 21-31 (Brito and Jusenius, 1978) indicated that despite these trends, the vast majority of young women who expect to be employed at age 35 would prefer to be in a typically female occupation by age 35.

In addition to the narrow range of jobs held by most women, women often earn less than men in the same occupation. This is true even when they work the same number of hours and when relevant characteristics have been held constant. This results partly from differences in job assignments and different titles within occupational groupings. For example, within the clerical profession most male clerical workers are post office mail carriers, shipping and receiving clerks, stock clerks and storekeepers. On the other hand, women are secretaries, typists, telephone operators, bank tellers and bookkeepers (Barrett, 1979).

Another factor which causes actual earnings to be even lower than indicated by the "earnings gap" is the relatively high proportion of women who are part-time workers (approximately one quarter of women in the labor force in 1976). Part-time employment is heavily concentrated in low-wage occupations. In general, part-time jobs are a subset of the traditional women's jobs. In addition, the wage rates of women part-time workers are usually lower than those of women full-time workers in the same occupations (Smith, 1979).

Legislation in the 1960's and '70s has made discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. More recently, affirmative action programs have shifted the emphasis from prohibiting discrimination to redressing past inequities and taking positive action to support future opportunities for women. Also, the potentially explosive issue of equal pay for comparable work is coming to the fore. A 1981 Supreme Court decision in the case of County of Washington vs. Guntner appears to give support to the view that rewards should be the same for jobs which require the same qualifications, even if they are not precisely the same. Acceptance of this approach would have far greater impact on women's earnings than the old "equal pay for equal work," since women and men do not generally do equal work.

Thus, progress is being made in redressing the legal and institutional barriers to equality in earnings for women, although enforcement lags behind the letter of the law. As yet, however, changes have been slow in coming—partly due to the slow evolution of aspirations of women and stereotypes of employers as to what is women's work.

For all these reasons we find that even when the wife works year-round full-time she contributes, on the average, only 38 percent of her family's money income. This is, nonetheless, a significant addition, and it is a much larger proportion for low income families (U.S. Department of Labor, 1980).

In addition to money income, however, the employed wife also makes a very substantial contribution in kind. A highly regarded and widely used recent survey (Robinson, 1977) found that employed women were still, on the average, spending 24.0 hours per week on household work, while their husbands put in only 9.7 hours. While reports on time spent may never be entirely accurate, there can be no question that the amount involved is substantial. So far, however, there is no generally agreed upon approach for determining the dollar value of this contribution.

There are two quite different methods of valuation of non-market time. Each of them has some claims to validity, but also disadvantages. The first is the opportunity approach, generally used by economists, which sets the value of time at home equal to what the person could earn in the labor market. The rationale is that if the value of housework were lower, s/he would have worked for wages. This would be reasonable in a perfect market where people make free and informed choices. However, these conditions are not generally satisfied. Rational choice is frequently inhibited by tradition, people rarely have the option to work the precise number of hours they would prefer, and information on the potential wages of persons who have not been in the labor market for some time is woefully inadequate. Furthermore, even if it were not for these problems, we would only know the lower limit of the value of home time. For if its value is greater than potential earnings, the person would also choose to stay at home. On the other hand, the value of home time includes not only work but leisure, causing an upward bias. Given all these difficulties, it is not surprising that studies using potential market earnings to estimate the value of housework have led to questionable results (Ferber and Birnbaum, 1980).

The second approach, generally used by home economists, sets the value of housework equal to the cost of hiring someone to do it. There are problems with this method as well, mainly because of disagreement whether any hired help can provide services of a quality equal to that of the homemaker, and if so whether it should be a general housekeeper, whose wages tend to be very low, or a group of specialists, each an expert for particular tasks, whose wages would be far higher. While a good case can be made that the skills of a homemaker are not likely to be on a level with highly trained specialists, many believe that a housekeeper would not do as well as the wife and mother.

Whatever one's view of the relative merits of these various methods of valuing non-market time, we know that using the earnings of a housekeeper to derive its value leads to the lowest estimates. But even this amounts to more than $100,000 over a normal life span at 1981 wage rates for the average mother of two who works

[10]According to tabulations provided by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and cited by Barrett, 1980, the percentage of young women workers (ages 20-34) in clerical occupations decreased from 42 percent in 1968 to 38 percent in 1977. The percentage of young women workers in professional, technical, and managerial categories increased from 20 percent to 24 percent in the same time period.

full-time in the labor market as well, considerably increasing her total contribution to her family.

2. *Expenditure Patterns.* There has been a good deal of speculation about the effect of "working wives" on family expenditures. One hypothesis (Mincer 1960a, 1960b) suggests that the earnings of the wife will be regarded as only transitory, and will therefore not be spent on current consumption, which is supposedly entirely determined by current income. Such families are, however, expected to spend more on consumer durables, because such expenditures are considered a form of saving. Another view, which leads to the same conclusion, is that the wife's earnings are regarded as an "extra" and are spent on such "extras" as consumer durables (Drucker 1976). If, on the other hand, the wife's earnings are not regarded as temporary, expenditures on consumption and durables should be the same for one and two earner families. An alternative and more pragmatic approach suggests that families with employed wives will spend more on labor-saving goods and services to help them compensate for the pressure of two jobs. Lastly, it has been suggested (Galbraith, 1973) that appliances are generally used to increase a family's standard of living, not to reduce work, and that women who work outside the home are less likely to buy such items.

With all these conflicting forces potentially at work it is perhaps not surprising that recent empirical studies (Strober, 1977; Strober and Weinberg, 1980) found scant evidence of differences in expenditure patterns of families with the wife in or out of the labor market, except that the former spent more on directly job-related expenses such as transportation and child care, and correspondingly saved less than one earner families with the same income. It must be remembered, however, that the family would not have as much income if the wife were not working.

3. *Allocation of Time.* As previously mentioned, wives continue to do the bulk of housework, whether or not they also work for pay. Two time-use diary studies conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan in 1965 and 1975 show that urban married women do spend less time on work in the house in the latter than in the earlier period: 24 compared with 27 hours for those employed, 48 compared with 53 hours for those not employed. But this is still considerably more than the approximately 12 hours husbands spend on such tasks, whether or not their wife is in the labor market (Robinson 1977a and b).

4. *Marriage and Marital Stability.* Much has been written in the past decade indicating increasing concern about the future of the family as the basic unit of American society. What is the basis of this concern? First, Americans are marrying later. Census Bureau estimates indicate that between 1970 and 1978 there has been an increase of about one full year in the typical age of first marriage for men and women (Current Population Reports Series P-20, No. 328, 1979). However, despite the tendency to postpone their first marriage, the proportion of women who eventually will marry (according to Hofferth and Moore, 1979, expected to be 95 percent) is predicted to decrease only slightly.

It would appear, then, that the change in attitude toward premarital sex and the greater economic independence of recent years have contributed to pushing the age of first marriage upward. But cohabitation seems to be a prelude to marriage for the young and a sequel to marriage for some of the elderly, rather than a substitute for it. Nor do women today choose between employment and marriage. Rather, they combine both, even if they have to make accommodations in one or both.

A second trend that has elicited concern is the much publicized increase in divorce. During the period 1960-78, the divorce rate climbed from 2.2 per 1000 population to a high of 5.1. It has been estimated (Glick and Norton, 1979) that if the current level of divorce continues, the proportion of marriages ending in divorce may approximate 40 percent. Since it is widely believed that two people living together "forever after" are most likely to be happy and to raise children successfully, the high divorce rate is widely regarded both as a symptom and cause of society's malaise; it is argued that the great interdependence of the breadwinner husband and the homemaker wife would be desirable as a guarantee of more stable marriages. There are, however, serious problems with this prescription. First, empirical evidence on whether wives' employment has a negative effect on family stability is mixed (Hoffman and Holmes, 1976, Nye, 1963, Ross and Sawhill, 1975). Second, questions can be raised whether economic interdependence holding two people together who otherwise would prefer to live separately is desirable either for them, or their children. This problem is likely to be particularly serious for the wife who is likely to be more dependent on the husband not only for economic security, but also for ther social status and way of life (Bergmann, 1980). This disparity in the extent of dependence on the ongoing marriage might well give the husband the upper hand in a marriage when a power struggle develops.

5. *Power and Satisfaction Within the Family.* A good deal of work has been done dealing with the question of how power is distributed between husband and wife, but as a very thoughtful review article (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970) points out, there are so many methodological shortcomings in this literature that the findings are varied and incompatible, and we obtain at best a partial picture of the actual power structure.

One common deficiency is that researchers rely on perceptions of only one member of the family, even though there is considerable evidence that husband and wife do not generally have the same perception. Second, many studies ignore the complex issue of the differences between power in the narrow sense, authority, influence and decision making. Thus it is, for instance, possible that one person is viewed as having 'legitimate power' but the other may nonetheless successfully exercise influence. Observation techniques and questionnaires are necessarily limited in getting information on many types of influence. Third, there is often a failure to recognize that decisions may be delegated by someone who regards such decisions too unimportant relative to the effort in making them. For this reason, and because all decisions are clearly not of equal importance, simply counting the number of decisions made by husband and wife is clearly not useful.

Thus, there is little agreement on precisely what to measure, nor are the measures very reliable. Hence one sophisticated study (Olson and Rabunsky, 1970) found

no intercorrelations between five different measures of power. Nor have various studies succeeded in giving support to any particular theory of power, including the widely cited resource theory proposed by Blood and Wolfe (1960), which claims that power within the family is shared in proportion to the resources each spouse contributes.

Just as there have been difficulties in precisely defining and correctly measuring power, so there are similar difficulties with the concept of satisfaction. Satisfaction, like power, is a multifaceted concept. The information obtained may be different depending on the use of observation or questionnaires, and depending on what behavior is observed and what questions are asked. In addition, there is the thorny issue of interpersonal comparisons. Nevertheless, some interesting results have been found, particularly by Campbell et al. (1976), often when questions were asked which did not directly involve satisfaction.

One interesting finding was that only 41 percent of women presently employed (and also 26 percent of men) would choose not to work even if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they would like to for the rest of their life. Furthermore, about two-thirds of the women who would continue to work would choose to continue in their present job. At the same time only one-fifth of housewives said they would like to work if they had someone to take care of things at home. This evidence points to self-selection. Most women appear to prefer the work status they have chosen to other alternatives, and hence may be considered to be satisfied in that sense.

The same study also found that homemakers, on the whole, were about as satisfied with housework as employed women were with their jobs. There were, however, substantial differences by level of education. Among women who had not finished high school, 68 percent of housewives and only 50 percent of working wives were highly satisfied with life, but among college graduates the figures were 56 and 79 percent respectively. Again, there may be evidence of self-selection. Women who prefer to work outside the home may get more education. It may also be, however, that more educated women are more satisfied when they are employed because they have more interesting and rewarding jobs. Furthermore, since they are also more likely to be married to more highly educated men, they are more likely to be working by choice rather than because of need.

III. Outlook for the Future. We began this paper by briefly tracing the evaluation of the 'traditional' housewife role and then examining the reasons for its decline. We went on to see what we have learned about some of the effects of the labor force participation of the wife on the family, from income and expenditure patterns to marital stability, distribution of power between spouses, and the wife's satisfaction with her work. What can we learn from all of this that would help shed light on the future role of women, and men, in the home and in the labor market?

Perhaps the most important fact is that the two earner family, once the exception, has now become the norm. In the baby-boom fifties the young woman who went off to work left behind a neighborhood full of young mothers who shared a warm if hectic social life and mutual interests in their children, and was herself treated as an oddity, if not an outcast. Today it is the mother of the large family who may feel abandoned in her neighborhood when so many others leave every morning. Keeping up with the Joneses once meant that Mr. Smith should earn as much as Mr. Jones, while Mrs. Smith should produce as many children as Mrs. Jones. Today it is more likely to take two incomes to keep up with the Jones, and small not large families are a status symbol. Soon the husband may come to take more pride in a wife who is successful in the labor market than in being the sole breadwinner. Also, as more wives and mothers are employed, goods and services which help them maintain their dual role continue to become more plentiful.

All these factors point toward the existence of substantial forces that, having been set into motion, are likely to continue. Therefore, it is altogether likely that the increase in women's labor force participation will continue, barring a major depression with massive unemployment. It is much less certain whether the increasing tendency for women to share in breadwinning will be accompanied by an increasing willingness of men to participate in baking bread. There appears to be some evidence of a move in that direction among the very highly educated young, though it would be premature to see this as a major trend. In any case, without a more equal sharing of home production, women will continue to spend much of their time and energy on household tasks, and will find it difficult to compete in the labor market on equal terms with men.

It is even more difficult to foresee what will happen to the family in other respects. To the extent that it is the stress of rapid change that tends to cause instability, power-contests and dissatisfaction, one might expect improvements in these respects as the two-earner family is increasingly accepted as the new reality. This would be even more so, if the two-homemaker family also comes to be accepted. On the other hand, the decline in social and economic pressures that used to hold families together is likely to continue, and the new roles may make for more competition between husbands and wives. Thus, one cannot predict a levelling off, let alone a decline in the divorce rate with great assurance. One may be more confident that the increased ability of individuals to choose their own lifestyles instead of conforming to stereotypes will give greater satisfaction to both men and women. Thus we believe that the outlook for the family, albeit one that will be different from and less universal than the 'traditional family,' is a favorable one.

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In Search of Financial Survival

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I will be focusing my comments on two specific areas—inflation and investments. I would like to start my discussion by posing some questions: Why do people invest? Why are the newspapers, popular magazines, radio and television programs filled with articles and discussions about finance and investments? Why has this conference included on its program several talks on the subject of economics and investments? Why are we having 20, 30 and sometimes even 60 million shares traded in a single day on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange? Why don't we just leave all of our money in a bank or Savings and Loan? After all, it is insured there, isn't it? Why all the current interest in investments?

I'd like to suggest that one reason why people invest is because if they don't, inflation and taxes will destroy much, if not all, of their buying power. Most of us have been led to believe that if we worked hard and earned as much as we could—while at the same time we saved a little money by adding to a savings account periodically—that someday when we were ready to retire, we would not have to worry about finances. Our savings, we thought, combined with Social Security and other retirement plans would enable us to live a life of leisure once we reached our golden years. What has happened to that dream?

According to the Social Security Administration, out of every 100 people who reach age 65 today, two of these people will be what they deem to be financially independent. Twenty-three out of every 100 will continue to work at age 65, for a variety of reasons. Some of them will *want* to continue working, some of them will *need* to continue working. Seventy-five of these people at age 65 will be dependent in retirement upon friends, relatives, and charity, because all of these people have one thing in common. If we were to add up all of their social security income, pensions, incidental jobs, and so forth, we find that all of these people are currently receiving less than $50 per week. Today, that does not make for a very secure retirement.

One of the primary reasons—and there are many others but I don't have time to cover them all—why most people fail to reach financial independence is due to the effect of inflation. Inflation is something we hear a lot about these days. In fact, it's somewhat difficult to pick up a newspaper or magazine without seeing some reference made to it.

What does inflation mean? Very simply, inflation means the purchasing power of the dollar is shrinking. It still looks like the same one dollar bill, but unfortunately it seems to buy less and less goods and services each year.

Inflation is not something that is new. There has never been a civilized country in the history of the world that has not suffered from inflation. It is certainly not new to this country. In fact, if the dollar that George Washington threw across the Rappahannock were to fall out of the sky today, it would only be worth a little less than one quarter of one penny.

Inflation since the beginning of this century has been averaging 2-3%. Since World War II, it's been averaging approximately twice that—about 5%. In 1980, inflation was posted at an official rate of 13.6%. It has been as high as 18%. We are beginning to see a turnaround. In the last two years, inflation has plunged, but we are having to pay the price. There have been two recessions, and business failures continue to soar. Breaking the inflation spiral is painful—high unemployment and a depressed economy are often the consequences. Many theorize that if the suffering gets to be too severe, measures will be taken to ameliorate the problem, and we will see inflation begin to rise again.

What effect does inflation have on the average family? Basically, the family's buying power is reduced. Let's look for just a moment at an item that has stayed essentially unchanged in form through a great many years. Let's look at a loaf of bread. If we went into a grocery store in 1940 and gave a grocer a one dollar bill and said, "I would like all the loaves this dollar will buy," he would have heaped into our arms ten loaves of bread. Ten years later, 1950, the same kind of bread, the same one dollar bill, the grocer would have given us six loaves of bread. Another ten years later, 1960, same dollar, we would have received four loaves of bread; 1970, same dollar, we would have received three loaves of bread. Today, we're lucky if we get one loaf of bread for $1.

I think the important thing to realize from this illustration is this: What's bread going to cost in 1985? In 1990, and so forth? That will all depend, of course, on our ability to control inflation on a long-term basis.

Besides reducing our buying power, inflation also affects the return on investments. Tax experts indicate that last year we had to get approximately 14% on our money just to stand still. What did they mean by that?

Let's say that a year ago we took $10,000 to a local savings institution and invested it at 12%. The interest that we receive during the year would come to $1200. What though, did inflation do, in dollars, to this $10,000 during that year? The average inflation rate last year was approximately 9%. So inflation took $900 away. But that's not the only unfortunate thing that occurred. We have all recently experienced what occurs around April 15. All of the interest we earned on savings during the year is taxed as ordinary income. Let's assume we are in the 50% tax bracket. If that's the case, then on April 15, Uncle Sam asked for $450 for income taxes. Between inflation and taxes then, it was necessary to earn $1350 on our money to stand still. We earned only $1200—Where does the additional $150 have to come from? That's right—out of the $10,000, and that's why tax experts indicated we had to earn about 14% just to stay even. Of course those figures would change depending on the interest rate

earned, the rate of inflation and your tax bracket.

Somehow, we have to try to get ahead of inflation and taxes. How can we do that? As hopeless as it sometimes seems, there are ways to cope and even profit from inflation. But to do this, careful financial planning and investing are necessary.

Realizing this, let's return to our original question—Why do people invest? One of the main reasons—and I hope I've made this point by now—is that unless you invest, you will see the money you work so hard to earn gradually disappear because of the eroding effect of inflation and taxes.

Now for the second part of my talk. Once we decide to invest, where should we put our money? Of course, if we knew the answer to that question, we'd all be rich. The very least we need to know, however, is (1) what investment opportunities are currently available and what does each offer, (2) what are our own individual financial objectives and (3) what are the general economic conditions at this time and what are *future* economic projections?

I realize these are areas of knowledge that require some study and conscious effort; however, it behooves each one of us to gather as much information in these areas as possible. It's necessary for our own financial survival.

No longer is it possible to consider savings and investment simply a matter of putting aside money in a savings account earning 5½% interest. Clearly, inflation and taxes will cancel out any gains. I am not saying that savings accounts serve absolutely no purpose. Some money must be kept liquid—so you can get your hands on it quickly to cover living expenses and emergencies. This kind of money should be kept in a savings account or better yet, in a high-yielding money market fund. (I'll discuss these funds a little later.)

The real key to keeping ahead of inflation is to accumulate capital at a faster rate than the rate of inflation. Your original capital must grow. How can that happen?

First, we must understand that there are basically only three major things we can do with money—your money, my money, or anybody's money. One of the things that we can do with our money is to consume it. Frankly, that is what most people do. They spend every dime they earn. If we do not consume all of our money, then there are two things we can do with the excess. We will either lend it, or we will become an owner, one of the two.

If we lend our money, then we put our money in banks, S & Ls, certificates of deposit, credit unions, government bonds, corporate bonds, tax deferred annuities, cash value life insurance, bond trusts, and so forth. In all of these techniques, we are lending money. For the use of our money, we are promised the return of our capital plus some fixed amount of dollar return. By lending money, you stabilize capital.

The third thing we can do with our money is to be an owner. By owning something, you hope not only to stabilize capital but to build capital. You expect to see your original investment or capital grow. Only in this way, can we hope to stay ahead of inflation and taxes in the long run. There are several things we can own. One of the things we can own is our own business. We can also own real estate. Real estate has been a good investment for capital appreciation during the last ten years because prices were appreciating at a rapid rate. It is not as good an investment now as it was because prices have stabilized. This has been due to a decrease in demand. Not many people can afford to buy real estate today at the current interest rates.

Other things we can own are objects in short supply such as rare art objects, antique furniture, gold and silver coins, etc. Also, we can be a *part* owner of a large company that, on a professional basis, is involved in all different kinds of business—it might be real estate, steel, computers, groceries, clothing, medicine or whatever they make. Here I'm talking about the stock market. It historically has made more money for more people more often than any other technique I know of.

Unfortunately, with anything we own, there are no guarantees that we will build wealth but there is at least the possibility. There is a risk in anything which we own. The value of something you own will always fluctuate with general economic and market conditions. The key is to balance the risks with the rewards.

I'd now like to turn to a discussion of some specific investments that help hedge against inflation. If a person does not want to assume any risk with his/her money, then about the only choice he or she has is to lend money, as I mentioned before. Although lending money is safer, it is also more difficult, if not impossible, for the lender to stay ahead of inflation and taxes.

There are a couple of loan techniques, however, that will yield relatively high returns and thus be more successful in offsetting inflation. One is the currently popular money market fund. Now paying about 14% interest, these funds provide liquidity and flexibility. Money is not tied up for any length of time and the return fluctuates in relation to the current interest rate. Interest is calculated and compounded on a daily basis. Money market funds are certainly an attractive alternative to passbook or NOW accounts, but they are still not perfect investments. The interest earned is fully taxable, as it is in a savings account or C.D.

To control taxes, you have to move to intermediate or long term type investments. Investments that minimize taxes include tax-deferred annuities and municipal bond funds, just to mention two. With tax-deferred annuities, money is placed in an account where it earns interest. (The newer annuities are now yielding around 14% and this % is adjusted on a regular basis to keep it competitive with current rates.) The advantage to this investment is that interest compounds tax-free during the accumulation period. Taxes are paid on the interest earned only when withdrawals begin—usually at retirement when the contributor is expected to be in a lower tax bracket. The concept of a tax-deferred annuity is similar to the deferment you get from an IRA (Individual Retirement Account) except that you don't have to wait until you're 59½ to begin withdrawing your money.

Another tax advantaged investment is municipal bond funds. A municipal bond is the only investment where you can earn interest free of federal and often state taxes. When you buy a municipal bond, you lend money to a state or local government or legal authority and receive a fixed interest rate for the life of the bond. Currently,

municipal bond yields are at historically high levels—running between 12-13%. When you compare that tax-free yield to a taxable yield, you would have to earn 14-18% for it to be equivalent (if you were, for example, in the 30% bracket). Today there are a variety of municipal bond *funds* available—rather than purchasing an individual municipal bond, you can pool your money with others, and own shares of a large portfolio of different municipal bond issues. Some of these funds are completely insured and units can be purchased for as little as $1,000.

So far, I've touched on investments that involve *lending*, your money in exchange for a stated rate of return. Now I'd like to comment briefly on an investment that allows for *growth* of capital. I'm speaking here of owning shares of stock of a particular company. The stock market can be as conservative or as speculative as you want it to be depending on what companies you buy stock in. Some people invest in the securities market to conserve capital or to produce income from their capital. Favorites for this group of investors are blue chip companies such as AT&T, IBM, Kodak, Sears Roebuck, and many others—or they invest in stocks. [I might mention that utility stocks are especially popular now because of their low price (many sell for between $15-$20 per share), their high dividends (many are yielding 12-14%), and the fact that this year you can reinvest dividends back into the company and receive up to $750 of tax-free dividends per individual.]

Another large group of people invest in the stock market not so much for stability or income but for growth. They want to have the possibility of seeing their excess money grow as rapidly as possible. This type of investor looks for companies in growth industries such as computers, cable T.V., high technology, medicine, robotics and many others. There are many excellent opportunities in these areas since current prices are depressed, as is the general market. For the person who is investing for the longer term, now is the time to buy some stock in favorite companies, now when prices are low. An old investing principal which still holds true is "Buy Into Fear—Sell into Greed."

Many people feel they do not have the knowledge or time to research companies and watch the market movements or determine when to buy and well. That is certainly a legitimate concern. For those people there are several alternatives. One is that they can work closely with an investment broker whose primary responsibility is to share information about companies and the market. Another alternative is to invest in a stock mutual fund.

As with the money market fund and municipal bond fund, a stock mutual fund allows the investor to pool his money with others. Stocks are then purchased and managed by professional investment advisors. Rather than having to buy shares of individual companies, you purchase shares of a large, widely-diversified stock portfolio. In that way, for a small investment of as little as $100-$200 you can own shares of many more companies than you could if you were buying them on your own. There are about 1000 of these funds available and each has a stated investment objective—either high income, long term growth, or a combination of income and growth. The objective of the fund will determine the kind of companies in which it buys stock.

Finally, let me mention that even though stocks—as well as every other type of investment—have had a hard time keeping up with inflation during the last five years, over the long haul—from 1926 through 1981—stocks have done the best job of beating inflation. In every 25 year period within those 56 years, the return on stocks has outpaced inflation.

I'd like to leave one last thought with you. If you remember nothing else from what I have said, I hope all of you realize the increasing importance of investment and will try to stay as informed as possible about current investment alternatives. Investments need to be constantly monitored, to be changed when your financial goals change and when the economy changes. You can no longer make an investment and forget about it for 5-10 years. Our constantly changing environment demands that we stay flexible and well-informed. Investigate before you invest, after you invest, and constantly reevaluate. That is the key to financial survival. Good luck to all of you.

How Can Business Accommodate Families?

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The attention paid to the issue of the business/family relationship in the popular press over the past several months points to the growing interest in and intensity of this problem. We've heard for years, of course, about men's liberation, dual career families, inequality of the division of household labor and the resulting stresses; but I see now almost daily some reference to a new awareness of the frustration and sacrifice people at every level feel as they choose between work and family responsibilities.

When I speak of family, I am using the AHEA definition which broadly defines family as a group of interrelating individuals who live much of their lives together, have a long term commitment to each other and share some resources and goals (1).

Today, I'm going to:

1. describe what I see as the *underlying attitudes* within business that are resisting change;
2. list what I believe are four compelling *forces that are and will continue to motivate business to create family-oriented policies;*
3. highlight briefly the *changes already occurring;* and
4. offer some thoughts about the *role of the home economist in this issue.*

I think most will agree that the driving force for change in the business community is the realization that employee productivity is linked to family well being.

Paul W. MacAvoy (2), Economics Professor at Yale University, recently summed up his opinion of the proper view of the corporation toward its employees in a recent *NY Times* "Economic Affairs" column. In his critique of a recent "Business Roundtable" report on corporate responsibility, he said:

> Employees, according to the Roundtable, expect not only "fair pay, but also such conditions as financial security, personal privacy, freedom of expression, and concern for the quality of life."

He maintains that:

> These are legitimate because responding to them leads to greater productivity and lower long-run costs. But, when pushed further, they lead to even higher costs and competitive disadvantage.

Personally, I think that characterizes the current corporate attitude toward accommodating the needs of families. A bit hard-hearted perhaps; certainly coldly logical. But, I think we can use this bottom line attitude as tremendous leverage in working for increased recognition that work and family are related and that this relationship is a proper consideration for business when looking—at the very least—for ways to improve productivity. As understanding of the relationship between worker productivity and the many factors that influence productivity increases in the business world, rapid and real change will begin to occur.

But we all know it's going to take some time, and it won't be easy to change ingrained attitudes, even when the reward for change is increased productivity. Let's look at some underlying problems that might cause business to be resistant to change.

First. The employer generally has a fragmented view of the employee. The employee arrives—on time hopefully—and is expected to do his or her task with as little interruption as possible. If the employee is pregnant, detained by a sick pre-schooler, concerned about unexpected financial problems, having marital problems or expected to attend a special school event, that is not considered the employer's concern, nor should allowance be made for the fact that the employee might on occasion be preoccupied and in tremendous conflict over the simultaneous need to perform both family member and employee roles.

While no one is recommending that family problems be the focus of the work place and the leftover time and energy be devoted to work, consideration of the employee as a human being with needs and feelings—by building in work time flexibility so that problems when they do arise can be handled in a dignified way—is a reasonable recommendation.

This quote from a recent article by a Senior Vice President-Marketing, of a Florida Bank, published in the *American Banker* newspaper spells out the expectations he has for his marketing staff as they face the competition of a rapidly changing financial marketplace. He states as his number one expectation:

> Unbounded loyalty and dedication. The first thing I require is total commitment to the bank. One hundred percent. Twenty-four hours of every day. Personal sacrifice. These are not going to be easy times. I need people who will stand up and be counted. Will work nights and week-ends if necessary. People who don't hope for time to pass, but make the utmost of the time they have (3).

I wonder how many financial industry people across corporate America had this article routed to their attention. I wonder, too, at the gut level reactions of those who were the recipients. Now, we all understand the truth in what this man is saying. Most of us are willing to pull out all the stops to produce when needed, to increase work loads and responsibilities if need be; but most are then asking for a pay-off. That pay-off is more than just monetary. It's in the form of respect as a human being. It's recognition that being treated as responsible will elicit far more loyalty and motivation than any edicts ever could. (It's a basic principle of learning we as educators have seen proven every day we've ever spent in the classroom.)

This "fragmented person" attitude will change as business understands that mutual respect—seeing the worker as a whole person, and allowing, where possible,

for flexibility and choices in fulfilling the many roles—can increase productivity.

Second. Business has long feared that treating workers as individuals will result in *reduced "discipline" and discontent.* (Sounds like a replay of old educational theory arguments, doesn't it?) This attitude reflects a "mass worker" mentality in my opinion and overlooks the change in educational level and values that has occurred in recent decades.

We have all heard the arguments that suggest "me generation" and even "we generation" values that incorporate aspects of both a family orientation and an individually fulfilling life. And just yesterday, *The Chicago Tribune* ran an article entitled, "The Not-Me Generation." A corporate executive laments:

> There's a slug of people in the pipeline who are of the Vietnam era, and don't have great aspirations to climb the corporate ladder, or make a lot of sacrifices to pursue a career 120 percent . . . They are less willing to plug away blindly toward some hazy reward or pot of gold at the end of the rainbow (4).

Daniel Yankelovich, in his controversial book, *New Rules—Searching For Self-Fulfillment in a World Turned Upside Down,* defines this change. He states that among other self-satisfactions that Americans appear to be searching for now are, first, "closer and deeper personal relationships," and second, "the switch from certain instrumental values for sacred/expressive ones." He theorizes that these two values may well form the embryo of a new "ethic of commitment" that could grow up to help us "do what no other society has yet done: create a civilization that is economically viable, politically stable, sociologically integrated, and also open to the full promise of individual life" (5).

A Gallup Poll conducted last December reports further that 82% of persons 18 years of age and older ranked "having a good family life" as most important. Lowest ratings were given for such items as "social recognition"; "enough leisure time"; "high income"; and "having a nice home, car and other belongings" (6).

I think we are all aware of these value shifts. My point is that the conflicts continue to intensify; and it is clear that employees with these conflicting needs are less willing to tolerate the discipline imposed through meaningless restrictions and rules. Effectiveness is impaired. Work suffers; families suffer.

Third. Even when presented with the evidence that flexible work policies might reduce the stress on employees and thereby increase productivity and profitability, it's *difficult for many in authority positions really to believe it is true.* One can always explain that in "this particular situation," it won't work. For many it is difficult to visualize the mechanics of such flexibility, or of how providing child care facilities or vouchers will really benefit the company or be fair to those who do not have children. (We all know that a closed mind and an attitude of cynicism are formidable obstacles in the change process.)

Fourth. Another real problem occurs at the middle management level in implementing company policy. When fundamental policy change is *at odds with traditional patterns or beliefs of department heads or supervisors, the hidden message usually prevails.* Take, for example, the case of the Florida bank marketing executive. I would not expect him to be supportive of those who give less than what he considers 24-hour-a-day commitment to the job, no matter how enlightened the company's official policy may be.

Fifth. The need to change to accommodate families is seen as a *woman's problem.* Too often the result is the creation of special accommodations for women, setting them aside as inferior, less productive workers.

We are all too familiar with the superwoman concept. It's hard to be superwoman and fulfill all the many role requirements when even one part of her support system falls apart. Not only must she cope with the added stress of her multi-role life, but often she is caught in the emotional trap of denying her feelings as she carries the banner forward in the struggle for equality in the workplace. Betty Friedan's newest book, *The Second Stage,* discusses the dilemma we find ourselves in as we now shoulder the burden of creating new patterns for combining work and family, and trying to bring the fragments of our lives back together (7).

But, the *pressures for change are building.*

1. There is a growing *recognition that the problem of accommodating the needs of families is not just a woman's problem,* and that women should not have to make all the sacrifices.

   At the teleconference called to release the findings of the 1980-81 General Mills "American Family Report" entitled "Families at Work: Strengths and Strains," Lou Harris, whose research firm conducted the survey, began his summary of the findings in this way:

   > . . . the survey reveals that working mothers bear particular burdens and pressures, and that most Americans recognize that these have an impact both on the ability of women to build and sustain careers and on their abilities to discharge their parental responsibilities (8).

   He went on to state,

   > Eighty-five percent of family members feel it would be a good thing for families if "employers made it easier for working parents to arrange their jobs and careers around the children (8)."

Harris noted that the human resource officers surveyed from major corporations, labor union leaders, feminists, and family traditionalists strongly agreed with the statement that "even if they do have families, women should be given opportunities equal to men to work and have careers outside the home (8)."

The General Mills study found that the majority (58%) of women who now work would choose to continue working outside the home in the absence of economic necessity. *Surprisingly,* in the absence of necessity, 41% of the women now working would prefer part-time over full-time employment (9).

Reflecting their current time constraints, additional

pressures and conflicts of responsibility, executive/managerial/professional women would choose *in even greater numbers* part-time work—51%—over full-time (9). Harris states that,

> Recognition of a trade-off between career and family, however, is shown by the 64% of family members and 72% of working mothers who agree with the statement, "People who expect to get ahead in their careers of jobs have to expect to spend less time with their families" (8).

Harris concluded his remarks by predicting that the next decade

> will be a time of experimentation by employers and families with new kinds of work and career patterns and with new roles and responsibilities for children (8).

However, all is not as rosy as Harris describes.

2. There is a growing *recognition that women, in fact, do bear the brunt of supporting children* in single parent households and for managing child care. Kathryn Kish Sklar (10), Associate Professor of History at the University of California, discussed the myths and realities of conflicting demands between family and work in women's lives in her paper presented at the recent AAUW Wingspread Conference (11—Proceedings of conference) on Family and Work. She states that "contrary to popular belief, it is women rather than men who bear most of the burden of supporting children after divorce, separation or remarriage." She cites the 1979 report by the U.S. Bureau of the Census called "Divorce, Child Custody and Child Support." Four Million, 900 thousand women who were either divorced, separated, remarried or never married with one or more children under 18 years old were interviewed. The findings: three-fourths of these women (4.5 million of whom were divorced or separated) received no child support from their children's father.

   In another article, Professor Sklar (12), using 1976 census data, states that of those entitled, only 45% who were college graduates and only 29% who were high school graduates, received child support. Clearly, this issue reaches across class lines and has obvious implications for the needs of women for reliable and adequate child care if they are to be an effective and productive part of the work force.

   While these data only confirm a truth many of us already knew, the figures speak clearly to the fact that the issue of child care and other accommodations to ease the burden on single parents is not one that can be ignored as inappropriate for the work world to consider when it looks for ways to increase productivity. If and how business should respond to this need is now a hotly debated topic in the business community.
3. *Dual career couples* pose considerable problem to corporations and, as many of you are aware, to the academic world as well. CATALYST, a New York based resource center that works to foster full participation of women in corporate and professional life, released a report (13) last July in which 374 top companies and 815 two-career couples were surveyed. According to the report, *only a third of the firms surveyed feel dual career family problems hinder their operations (14).* Their survey asked about the pressure on two career (not two paycheck) families. They found that 80% of the companies surveyed believe that men increasingly feel the need to share parental responsibilities. Yet, 37% feel there are certain positions in their firms that can't be attained by men who try to combine their careers with parenthood. One partner in a dual career family spoke for the feelings of many when he said, "Companies may have an appreciation of dual-career family problems, but I don't see any move to lessen the pressures of the job" (14).

   The survey found that "although 72% of the men and 74% of the women said their careers were equally important, in practice they tended to reflect traditional patterns, with women following their husbands to new job locations" (15), especially if the woman's salary was lower.

   As we might expect, "women reported more physiological and psychlogical symptoms of stress; they were also more perfectionistic and blamed themselves when things went wrong at work or at home" (15).

   These women stated that the single greatest disadvantage for wives was "too much to do." Husbands reported "not enough time together" as the biggest disadvantage (15). (There seems to be an obvious solution there!)
4. A fourth, and probably the most compelling force, is a *growing grassroots awareness of the impact the workplace has on family functioning.*

   My initial involvement in the political issues surrounding families began in that year before the International Year of the Child while I was editor of the JCPenney FORUM magazine. As a result of my involvement in preparing that issue of FORUM which focused on the politics of children and families in our country, I was selected as an at-large delegate to the controversial 1980 White House Conference on Families. This conference, where you will recall large factions of delegates disagreed on almost everything, represented a major *grassroots* effort to relate family and workplace concerns—among others—to their impact on the family unit while recommending specific changes in the workplace to accommodate these concerns. The number one recommendation evolving from the conference urged business to initiate family-oriented policies. I'd like to read to you the recommendation drafted at the Baltimore Conference by the work group of which I was a part. It was supported ultimately by 92% of the delegates at all three conferences. It reads:

> Business, labor and government should encourage and implement employment opportunities and personnel policies that enable persons to hold jobs while maintaining a strong family life. Family-oriented personnel policies can result in reduced absenteeism, greater productivity and decreased stress. Toward such desirable ends there is

need for creative development of such work arrangements as flextime, flexible leave policies for both sexes, job sharing programs, dependent care options and part-time jobs with pro-rated pay and benefits. Additionally, employers should recognize the possible adverse effects of relocation on families so that they may provide support and options. (Baltimore wording.) (16)

While the impact of this conference is still too new to measure and official follow-up on these recommendations has, to my knowledge, ceased, the continuing effect in raised awareness of this issue by the more than 125,000 people involved in the three conferences is important, and, I believe, will bear fruit over time.

A follow-up report to corporate leaders on "Work and Families" (17) was prepared by the Business Task Force composed of representatives of 30 major corporations for a White House Briefing held in October of 1980. Keynoting the conference was former President Carter's Secretary of Commerce, who urged Corporate America to heed the directive of the White House Conference and seriously consider how the workplace affects family life.

Emphasized were the major recommendations prepared by the Conference delegates: flextime, child care, expanded maternity and paternity leave, job sharing, flexible leave policies, permanent part-time employment and family counseling programs in the workplace (17).

Outlined in the "Work and Families" report are many examples of change in the business/family relationship over the last ten years (17):

Flextime, one of the key workplace policies to be tried, originated in Germany in the mid-1950's, and was introduced into the United States in 1965. It has spread gradually since then. Most companies with flextime programs are reporting that, with no appreciable cost to management, allowing workers to adapt their work schedules to better accommodate personal and family needs resulted in a positive morale, a greater sense of responsibility, lessened stress and reduced employee turnover. Companies who have used flextime indicate that the advantages generally outweigh the disadvantages (17).

For example, Hewlett-Packard instituted flextime in 1972, and they report that productivity has improved. Some employees commented that the increased freedom to have more "prime time" at home had improved attitudes, and thus efficiency, and had contributed to a less rigid workplace atmosphere (18).

Flexible Leave Policy is one of the *least* costly, yet most meaningful innovations. This means time off to deal with "life issues" that are not related to specific job responsibilities. The interest in "flexible leave" policies comes from both the two earner families who are trying to accommodate personal and family needs within the normal working day, and from the employees who want more from their job than the wages and satisfaction they are currently receiving. Employees can take care of pressing family business during normal working hours and it appears that they will tend to be far more productive if there is a recognized mechanism by which they can take time off. Creative examples include:

- IBM and Xerox who have social service leave programs which enable workers to spend time in community and civic activities.
- Wells Fargo & Company who has a unique program that allows employees who have been with the company at least 15 years to take a three-month paid leave of absence to pursue goals of an entirely personal nature.

But there is still room for improvement. Maternity leave policies are in further need of review. Not only is the availability of maternity leave an issue, but its length of time, impact on job status, and extension of the concept to fathers as paternity leave need to be examined (17).

Part-time employment is not new to the corporate community. Interestingly, however, a recent study showed that part-timers tend to be highly results-oriented, characterized by a "getting the job done" (19) attitude; are increasingly career oriented; often professional people; and in an increasing number of instances, they are men (20).

It is estimated that the use of permanent part-time workers will increase at a rate of 5% a year, as the service sector of the economy continues to expand, as the business community encounters shortages in specific job skills, as the need for a second-income or the desire for more leisure time grows, and as unions obtain employee benefits for part-timers similar to those available for full time employees (17).

In the 1980's, corporate involvement in child care is unlikely to follow a single model. Needs and solutions will vary; what will not change, however, are the trends in the workforce which require the corporate sector to be an active participant in the provision, directly or indirectly, of child care services to the children of working parents. A senior vice president of American Can Company made this very pointed remark in a recent news article.

Child care is not a woman's problem; it is an employer's problem. When the child is not properly cared for, you screw up the productivity of that employee—male or female—for the day. He or she is constantly fooling around on the phone trying to find out what happened. It will get to be a corporate problem (17).

In the Gallup report on American Families 1980, respondents were asked to identify three items which would be most helpful in enabling families to cope with the conflicting demands of work and family responsibilities. Twenty-eight percent selected child care facilities at the place of employment. Over 2/3 of those surveyed supported tax credits for businesses which provide on-site day care facilities for employees' children (17).

Striderite Children's Centers in Boston provide an example of a mutually beneficial on-site child care center. Established in 1971, with a $100,000 corporate contribution for start-up and maintenance over a four year period, the program includes parent participation, competent staffing, and outside sources of funding. Another company, Intermedics in Freeport, Texas, has a wholly owned on-site child care center.

It is a profit making subsidiary that operates at a loss and provides the company with a 100% tax deduction. The Intermedics program was developed in direct response to problems of employee tardiness and absenteeism. In its first six months of operation, the company reported a 9% reduction in turnover and a saving of approximately 3,700 hours in absenteeism (17).

Control Data in Minneapolis utilized still a different approach for its employees. In 1971 it formed a consortium with several other Minneapolis based companies to provide the local match money to establish the Northside Child Development Center serving approximately 128 children. It no longer receives direct financial support from the consortium, and a University of Minnesota study of the Center documented a decrease in turnover and absenteeism as a result of enrollment in the day care program (17).

Several companies, including Polaroid Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Ford Foundation in New York have a voucher system for employees to purchase their own child care. In a variation of the voucher system, the Allendale and Union Mutual Life Insurance Companies have purchased slots at a local center for their employees (17).

Large companies already deal with the question of Job Transfers and Relocation Policies to one degree or another. Most companies reimburse their workers for costs involved in moving. Cost of living allowances and mortgage interest differentials are also a part of the package for some companies (17). For example:

Northwestern Bell Telephone has an Employee Relocation Workshop that covers not only the worker, but other members of the family. Some companies have established internal "host" programs to help newly transferred employees adjust to their new community. In Battle Creek, Michigan, headquarters for several companies, a local high school has even started a "host" program to welcome new students (17).

Union Carbide has a Community Needs Assessment Process, which pinpoints specific community problem areas and then works to correct them, so transferred employees will look forward to moving there (17).

American Express is currently relocating its Travelers Cheque Division—250 employees—to Salt Lake City. In addition to the usual relocation services provided, an extensive spouse employment program has been put in place offering employment inside the Company, if appropriate, or job hunting assistance externally. Loans of up to 30% of the employee's base salary are offered and "forgiven" over a five year employment period. An employee who stays five years pays back $0 on that original loan. Most non-New Yorkers will find it amusing, but American Express is even paying half the fee for up to two people per family for driver training classes (21).

Industry's involvement in the treatment of specific employee health problems through family assistance programs goes back to the 1940's, when several companies, including Con Edison and Dupont, developed programs to identify and refer alcoholic workers (17).

A study of 300 companies with written policies on alcohol found that the "broad brush" approach, which extends assistance to troubled employees, is more successful than those programs limited solely to alcohol related problems. A 1977 study estimates that 600 companies, primarily large employers, now have employee assistance programs (17).

One company spokesperson explained why his corporation provides accommodations for families:

- We know employees work hard for themselves and for the company when they know the company is interested in their needs. Every business strategy we develop has a concomitant plan for the employee in the program. We ask, "Is there a way the employee can work more productively for the corporation?"

- Another said, "Each of our programs has become a profit-making business. We find we can address social issues and still be profitable" (22)

What is the role of the home economist in this issue? Brown and Paolucci carefully explain what it means to be a home economist in their landmark paper "Home Economics: A Definition." (23) Clearly, the relationship of the family to the institution of work in terms of its persistent problems in personal development of family members and control over social institutions is an appropriate issue for both study and involvement by the profession.

If we ask the question, "What should families do to resolve the problems of conflicting demands in the roles of family member and employee and what should business do?", we take the first step in addressing this problem in the context of today as well as considering how its solution will make a contribution to the future.

But, unfortunately, this is one of those issues—so common to our field—where personal initiative, a keen sensitivity and an ability to work a little magic wherever you find yourself is needed!

There are few, if any, jobs out there that ask for someone to come in and humanize the workplace by examining its relationship to families. I would hope this could become an emerging career area for home economists, but I'm not going to hold my breath.

Perhaps, the first place to start is to sensitize ourselves to the situation by assessing the impact of a particular business on its families.

Activity

The "The Family/Business Relationship" (24) activity is a tool for identifying opportunities for improving this relationship.

This activity, adapted from one developed by "The Family Impact Seminar," was first published on the JCPenney FORUM and used to assess the family/school relationship. I find it helpful to begin by considering the family oriented policies, communication and support mechanisms of the family/school relationship when trying to imagine ways the family/business relationship might be redefined.

Let's look at some other ideas for involvement in this

THE FAMILY/BUSINESS RELATIONSHIP

Basic Value Assumption: The Family/Business relationship should be conceived of as a partnership based on mutual respect and support for the functions of both the business and the family members employed and secondarily affected.

Family/Business Communication

1. What are the channels of communication in both directions: 1. _____

2. What kind of training is provided to further understanding of and communication on concerns that relate to family/business relationship issues? 2. _____

3. Are representatives of affected employees included in management discussions of family/business policies? 3. _____

Family/Business Support

1. To what extent is family commitment made to seem valued by business?
   (and)
   to what extent is the role of business made to seem a valued part of the employee's family life? 1. _____

2. Are family members kept informed of business objectives and activities to provide an opportunity for support and assitance to the family member/employee? 2. _____

3. To what extent is the business informed about and supportive of the diversity of employee families. traditions and functions? 3. _____

Business Policies and Structure

1. To what extent are family impact considerations a part of the decision making structure? 1. _____

2. To what extent is contemporary research and data on families a component of business policy development? 2. _____

3. To what extent is the relationship between family health and employee productivity examined in light of specific business objectives and modes of operation? 3. _____

4. To what extent does business attempt to promote a company culture and tradition that allows for family member needs and breaks down rigid rules where they are no longer appropriate? 4. _____

Adapted from "Impact on Families: A Community Assessment" by A. Sidney Johnson III, and Theodora J. Ooms, J.C. Penney FORUM, Spring/Summer, 1979, p. 7.

issue both as a professional and in teaching your students:

1. You might design pre-service, in-service or intern experiences—for example, a survey of local business employees regarding the need for child care, followed by a proposal.
2. Become a resource for political influence on selected family issues. Make your expertise known and available to the legislature, media, local businesses.
3. Share your own life experience with your students, and ask them to share theirs. Using a problem-solving process look for how the family can change, how business can change and develop a plan of action.
4. Develop a computerized management case study like those used in MBA programs to examine problems realistically, requiring both creativity and bottom line accountability.

Home Economics teacher educators have a huge challenge. They are charged with:

- assuring that their students have *a knowledge base* upon which to rely in understanding how families function and how they relate to the workplace as well as other institutions; and
- building an *ability to perceive the environment*, and the factors which may be undermining family functions.

And further, home economists need to function on many levels at one time:

- They need to know both theoretically and practically how to manage and teach others to manage the many conflicting demands on family members.
- They need to be able to identify both theoretically and practically as well as teach others to identify those components of personal and family life that are essential to well being and improved quality of life.
- They need to be prepared to be leaders in working for the changes needed to enable both family needs and business objectives to evolve and co-exist productively.

But, then I wonder, is this asking too much?

A little over a year ago, results of an attitude survey of ivy-league women students reported in the *NY Times* Sunday Op-ed section, said that college women "now say they'd pick family over careers." Quotes from some of the college women surveyed said they have seen the conflicts that pursuit of a career produces and will not follow in the battered, tired and often lonely footsteps of their older "sisters."

The ensuing "letters to the editor" alternately denounced these women as "spoiled daughters of the rich," or sympathized by describing the letter-writer's own conflicts or the now unappreciated sacrifices of the previous generation's pioneers. They told of trade-offs in loss of satisfying personal and family life that were far more devastating and costly than anyone had ever predicted. Marriages were dissolved in search of self and career; children were postponed indefinitely and then forever; fulfilling personal or intimate relationships were never built because career building took every ounce of energy and time. Many who wrote were asking—as were the women in the ivy-league study—is it worth it? This example presents us with a curious dilemma. We can perceive it as a problem from a social perspective and as a personal/professional one. We, as well as today's college women, are the ones who are asking, "Is it worth it?" Each of us, of course, answers this for herself. But as a professional in home economics education, this is a part of our calling.

Rene Dubos died last February at 81. He was a noted author and professor emeritus at Rockefeller University. Trained as a bacteriologist, he evolved in his later years as an ecologist, humanist, futurist and philosopher. I interviewed him a few years ago and have recalled over and over again his firm belief that our uniquely human creativity and our incredible ability to reason will help us to avoid the many crises which threaten to overtake us.

Many of us look at the size and complexity of the problems facing our society and world and wonder how anything any of us do as individuals can make a difference. Dubos would cite examples of how just as we as a society reach the brink of our self destruction, there emerge pockets of change—people living and thinking in a different, more humane way—all over the world. I'd like to share a quote from his last article excerpted from the *New York Times*.

> Human beings inevitably alter the course of events and make mockery of any attempt to predict the future from an extrapolation of existing trends. In human affairs, the logical future, determined by past and present conditions is less important than the *willed* future, which is brought about by deliberate choices—made by the free will. Our societies have a good chance of remaining prosperous because they are learning to anticipate long in advance, the shortages and dangers they might experience in the future . . . A key to overcoming the passivity born of pessimism is to remember that the really important problems of our times are not technical. They originate in our thoughts, our uncertainties, or our poor judgment concerning para-scientific values (25).

It is clear to me that as home economists as well as educators, we recognize as part of our mission the reconciliation of the world of work, family, individual and society. There is evidence that business is responding to pressures to change, probably not in any real consideration of social responsibility, but for its role in productivity.

Home economists have an understanding of *how work-demands shape the personal development of families* in both *positive* and negative ways.

We have the *expertise to help counteract the resistance to change* fostered by disbelief and traditional attitudes.

We have *a professional obligation to help families gain control* of and shape the institutions that affect it.

And almost everyone in this room has the *opportunity to influence the preparation of our future home economists* to ensure an understanding and ability to work toward fulfilling our unique mission.

We are in an excellent position to exercise leadership on this issue in defining the problems, working cooperatively and creatively to evolve workable alternatives and for providing the expertise needed for social change. It's our heritage and our future.

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The Future of the Homemaker

Anne Bowen Follis
Homemaker; Founder of Homemakers for ERA;
Author of "I'm Not a Women's Libber, But . . ."

I am here today, not as a dinosaur, but as a full time, happy housewife. No, we are not extinct, despite what you might have heard.

In fact, in spite of the growing emergence of women into paid employment and the professions, many, if not most, women still plan to spend at least part of their lives as full- or part-time homemakers.

A number of years ago I gave up a career to stay home, raise children, and care for a family, and I felt that I had died and gone to heaven. At about that time the women's movement hit, and I was certain that it could only benefit women in employment, and had nothing to do with me. But as I began getting involved in efforts to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois, and studying the issues, I was shocked at what I discovered.

My mentor has become Erma Bombeck, who describes her awakening like this: It was early in the evening and she was preparing dinner. The cat was walking across a cake on the counter, she had just opened a refrigerator only to have a bottle of ketchup break on the floor, her sons were calling for her immediate aid from down the hall, something was boiling over on the stove, the phone was ringing, and someone was at the door. In the midst of everything she turned to her twelve year old daughter and said, "someday all of this will be yours."

Rodney Dangerfield coined the phrase "I don't get no respect," and I've used it a great deal to describe the situation of the housewife. One of the first things I discovered when I began working for women's rights was that as a homemaker, I had less legal rights than *anyone* else. It is, in fact, perhaps the greatest betrayal of American womanhood that when a woman becomes a homemaker, which society encourages her to do, she may have actually *lost* legal rights, and precious legal status, that no other group in society is ever asked to relinquish. I don't know how you can get less respect than that!

The constitution of the United States, and the laws in most states, were framed and adopted under the precepts of English common law, which was described 200 years ago as meaning that when a man and woman get married, they become one, and that "one" is the husband. The state of Georgia restated this doctrine in a 1974 law declaring that "the husband is head of the family and the wife is subject to him; her legal existence is merged in the husband . . ." (Georgia Code, Ann., 50-501 (1974).

Literally hundreds of laws are based on this principle. For example, in South Dakota a husband may disinherit his wife, except for her right to live in the family home for her lifetime. In Georgia a husband may disinherit his wife, though she may petition the courts for a year's support, to be paid out of her husband's estate. The "right" to live in one's own home, or to be supported for a year, are meager rewards indeed for a woman who may have devoted years of her life to her home and family.

In some states a wife may be denied the right to manage her own property, or she may be denied any say in establishing the family domicile. In Maine if a husband and wife jointly run a business, the profits from that business belong legally to the husband, not the wife, even if the wife is putting the most effort into running the business and the husband is not taking his share of the responsibility.

The laws vary from state to state, with some states being fairer than others. But the bottom line for women is that they are at the mercy of the courts and the lawmakers. The reason is that while the U.S. Constitution clearly prohibits discrimination based on race, it was never intended to prohibit discrimination based on sex, and the Supreme Court has never interpreted it to do so in all areas. This is why changes have been patchwork at best, and very uneven.

Even when the laws do treat women fairly, the principle of common law is always under the surface, waiting to rear its ugly head. Its potency is perhaps best illustrated by the footnote found frequently in law journals which reads: "The above is not applicable to children, idiots, and married women."

In 1915, for example, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma ruled that "contracts between a husband and wife are invalid, because a wife has no legal existence" (Sodowski vs. Sodowski). Can you imagine a court ruling which says that black people, for instance, or Jewish people have no legal existence? It would be unthinkable! And yet today, in a country that takes pride in its concern for motherhood, we tell wives in many states that their legal status is precarious at best, and in some instances virtually nonexistent.

One dramatic illustration concerns a Wisconsin homemaker named Margaret Rasmussen. She and her husband, Harold, along with their two sons, lived in her mother's home. Harold brought home the paycheck and turned it over to Margaret, who did the family's bookkeeping, paid the bills, and rationed out money for household and personal expenses.

The Rasmussens didn't have much money, but Margaret believed that her sons should go to college, and she managed to save a little here and there for their education. Her mother also occasionally made a contribution to the college funds and gradually the savings grew.

Margaret died in 1963, when her sons were teen-agers. She left her sons two savings accounts in their names, totaling $5,000. Harold remarried and moved out of his mother-in-law's house. That $5,000 seemed like a lot of money to him, so he went to court to get it. "I earned that money," he argued, "and I never gave it away. I merely entrusted it to Margaret to pay the bills. The surplus belongs to me."

What do you think the court said? Remember, there would have been no surplus without Margaret's careful economizing, not to mention her years of valuable, unpaid labor as a homemaker. Also the family lived in *her* mother's home, and she had also contributed some to the education funds.

The court agreed with Harold, stating that ". . . the excess left after paying the joint expenses of . . . the family remains the property of the husband . . ." The boys' college money went to Harold and his new wife. Margaret's long years of scrimping and saving to assure her sons an education were an exercise in futility. (The case is *Rasmussen vs. Oshkosh Savings and Loan Association*, 35 Wis. 2d 605 (1966). It is referred to in *That Old American Dream and the Reality*, Wisconsin Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Madison, WI, 1977.)

Margaret Rasmussen is just one of countless women who have fallen through the cracks of a legal system that fails to protect the homemaker adequately.

Another instance illustrating the uncertain status of married women involved a woman named Selina Martin.

Selina lived in Louisiana, a community property state, which said until recently in its laws that the husband is "head and master" with "total control" over all community property. Yearly attempts to change this law in the legislature were unsuccessful, and even one compromise proposal, recommending that the control be 75 percent for the husband and 25 percent for the wife also failed.

In 1978 Selina was working double shifts as a nurse to support her unemployed husband and pay the mortgage on their home. Her husband decided that he wanted to take out a second mortgage on their home. To Selina's dismay, she could not prevent him from doing so, even though their home was jointly owned, and *even* though she was the breadwinner for the family. Louisiana law described the husband as "head and master" and gave him the right to do as he chose with their jointly owned property, unhindered. Then, to her added dismay, she found that she was *totally liable* to pay for the second mortgate that she could not prevent him from taking!

Selina Martin went all the way to the Supreme Court of Louisiana protesting this law, and in May of 1978 she *lost* her case (Selina Martin vs. Corpus Christi Credit Union), as well as the home that she had worked so hard to acquire for her family. That same year, the United States Supreme Court *refused* to hear the case.

The good news to this story is that the Martin case brought public attention to the injustice of the Louisiana law, and shortly thereafter the legislature finally voted to change the law, giving the husband and wife equal control over community property. The cost to bring about this change, however, was Selina Martin's home—a mighty heavy price to pay for justice.

It should be noted here that the new law did not go into effect until January 1, 1980. In 1979, before the revision went into effect, legislation was introduced to repeal a large portion of the newly passed revisions, the effect of which would have been to leave the head and master provisions intact. That bill was defeated in committee by *one vote*. The fact is, American women are completely dependent upon the kindness and good graces of courts and legislatures for their rights—courts and legislatures that change every year. That will remain the case until the Equal Rights Amendment is added to the constitution.

So, the feminist movement was correct in pointing out that the legal status of the homemaker is not wonderful, and that something is terribly wrong about a society that uses her unpaid labor, and robs her of legal rights. But the solution is *not* to get rid of the title "homemaker," and to abolish the traditional role. What is wrong is the law, and the deeper, underlying societal disregard for the value of that role, which the law reflects.

I am convinced that the economic, social, and spiritual value of a homemaker's contribution to society is immeasurable. When a woman gives up a career, puts aside an education, and devotes herself to the full time care and nurturing of her family, she is performing perhaps the single most important job in this country. Giving fair legal recognition to the occupation of homemaker is not as difficult as it may seem. If we are to protect and promote this job, recognition of the homemaker's non-monetary contribution to the family welfare should be written into the family laws of each state. For example, because of the equal rights provision in Montana's 1975 State Constitution, new legislation explicitly recognizes the economic worth of the homemaker and reads: "Insofar as each is able, the husband and wife shall support each other out of their property and labor . . . the word 'support' includes the non-monetary support provided by a spouse as homemaker."

More important, however, and more complex, it should be written into the hearts of every one of us. When we use the terms "working woman" or "working mother," aren't we implying that the woman who raises a family, runs a home, and participates in countless volunteer programs isn't doing *real* work? Homemakers are frequently left off advisory boards unless they have some other title. The title "homemaker," by itself, is rarely enough. I am never introduced as simply a homemaker, and I find that women who are involved in other activities rarely include the title "homemaker" in their descriptions of themselves.

The homemaker's job is often the least appreciated of anyone's. Other jobs include status reports, promotions, raises, and bonuses. But the faithful housewife is easy to take for granted. My mother once asked me why I took the time to make homemade noodles for my family, and I replied, "Because they never thank me when I clean the bathroom."

Perhaps the greatest indication of the low value that is placed on the homemaker's work is the difficulty middle-aged women, who have never worked outside the home, have in finding employment. It is a terrible thing that unless a woman has done salaried work she is presumed to have no experience of any value to an employer.

And finally, as if to add insult to injury, countless television commercials, from "ring around the collar" to the "Snoopy Sniffer" and the "Ty-D-Bol Man" are based on the presumption that the American housewife is the world's biggest ninny. (Can anyone imagine a commercial where the guilty party being told about "ring around the collar" is a *man*?) I have long contended that the success of Phil Donahue's daytime talk show has been due, at least in part, to his inclination to treat the American housewife as a being with some degree of intelligence.

The future of the homemaker is in doubt today not merely because of the economy, which has made it difficult for women to stay home. As a society we have failed to recognize unpaid labor done in the home as *real* work of value and dignity. Legally, we have placed the homemaker in a vulnerable and uncertain position,

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Changes In The Work Men And Women Do: As It Was Then, As It Is Now*

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The most basic cause of change in the work men and women do is technological change. Indeed, many of the behaviors and attitudes that characterize people in the modern world are the unanticipated consequences of technological change, completely unplanned.

I shall take a brief look at other societies that used different modes of subsistence technology in order to show that it was the way daily work meshed with societal replacement needs that shaped sex stratification patterns. By stratification, of course, I mean the differential allocation of valued rewards, in the jargon of my biz. In all societies two basic principles explain stratification patterns. People who produce have more power and prestige than those who consume; and in all societies, people who control distribution beyond the family have the most power and prestige.

In hunting and gathering societies, men hunted large animals and women gathered nuts, berries, and trapped small animals or insects. More power and prestige accrued to hunters because they could distribute a large animal beyond the family. Women could rarely gather enough nuts and berries in a day to feed more than their own immediate families. Women didn't hunt because the requirements of hunting did not mesh with the requirements of child bearing. In foraging societies, women needed to be pregnant or lactating most of the period between age 15 and 45 to match the wastage of a high death rate. The children were carried around by the mother till the age of four. Women had the abilities needed for hunting but because of the requirements of lactation, they could not be away from the camp for long periods of time, as long as a week or two. Hence we can see that childbearing and subsistence needs together ensure that women would have less power and prestige than men.

In horticultural societies the main subsistence tool was the hoe. Using the hoe in a garden plot meshed fairly well with child rearing activities. Hence, taking these societies as a whole, women did about half of the subsistence work, as shown by the reports in the Human Relations Area Files. Women did not dominate any of these societies but their status compared to men's was at an historical high, at least until very recently. One indicator is the high divorce rate, higher than in our own society. Divorce is common only if it interferes with the subsistence of neither the husband or wife—or the children. Other indicators are the proportion of these societies that were matrilineal, matrilocal, higher than in any other societal type.

In agricultural societies women's status fell to an all-time low. Men monopolized the use of the plow, probably because of the need for managing large draft animals in areas at considerable distance from the home. This meant that men produced more than women did. Another factor was just as important in determining women's status. Land became the chief form of wealth. Land is not partible. That is, at a given level of subsistence technology, a given piece of land can only support a limited number of persons. This meant that the number of heirs had to be controlled. Hence, monogamy became the primary marriage pattern whenever the plow was the primary subsistence tool. Women's premarital and marital sexual behavior was rigidly controlled so that men could be sure that only their own children would inherit the land. Consequently, plow societies all exhibit a double standard for sexual behavior. Men are permitted concubines and mistresses while women's behavior tends to be more controlled.

Industrialization changed all this. Over time, one can trace how educational levels rose, fertility fell, then women's labor force participation rose dramatically. Now that women are almost as likely as men to remain in the labor force for most of their adult lives, women's status has increased because even if women's wages are not as high as men's, women are much more likely to be producers (of money) than they were 50 years ago. However, women's status will not equal men's until women occupy, proportionately, as many of the elite positions as men do. They cannot do this, collectively, until men's household participation equals women's. That is, women's double burden of market work and child care makes them less effective competitors than men for top jobs. What will bring about change?

Two things. Men's guilt and women's irritation. Using my own family as an example (they are not un-typical), we can see that all four of my grandparents, born on farms, worked very hard, women as well as men. In the next generation, my father worked as a professional. My mother, a full-time housewife, had labor-saving devices

*Summary of presentation. Full text not available.

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presuming that her contribution to the welfare of her family doesn't count. If this important and worthwhile role is to survive, then we must begin to insist that it gain the recognition and respect that it deserves.

Thank you very much. It has been a real privilege to be here.

Sustainability, Paideia, and Education: A Proposal

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For a conference proposing to discuss the interrelationships between work life and family life, it is worth noting that there are no longer many connections between the two. The industrial revolution effectively broke the age-old tie between the home and the workplace, transferring what economists called "labor" (which did not include home labor) from the small human scaled workshop situated in or near the household to the factory or the office. It also unleashed forces which contributed to the disintegration of the family and to the decline of what Martin Buber (and later E. F. Schumacher) once described as "good work." In our headlong stampede into modernity we lost sight of the intimate connection between the two. The Greeks knew better. From the Greek root word "oikos," meaning household management, we derive the words "economics" and "ecology," the former referring most appropriately to domestic households, the latter to the earth household. In household management, whether domestic or planetary, we have routinely ignored Ellen Richards' motto which reads in part: "The more simply you live the more secure is your future." John Ruskin said much the same thing when he stated that: "all true economy is the 'law of the house.' Strive to make that law strict, simple, generous: waste nothing and grudge nothing."

The purpose of my remarks this morning is first to expand the conference theme somewhat to suggest a relationship and synthesis between worklife (economics), family life (home economics), and the earth (ecology). The bonds which unite all three forms of oikos are those of frugality, nurture, and care, or as the Greeks had it: wholeness and balance. My second, and more important, purpose is to inquire what this perspective has to do with the substance and process of education. How do we educate for wholeness? How do we put humpty-dumpty back together again? How do we reconnect the home, the workplace, and the planet? Despite a decade or more of talk about interdisciplinary education and holism, these remain distant objectives in a setting of tightly organized and jealously guarded disciplines.

My remarks are organized into four sections, proceeding from the general to the specific. The first deals with the management principles at the planetary and household levels. The second part provides a summary of some of the factors which are shaping the world that students will enter. the third part deals with the goals of education and its relationship with contextual factors. The final section outlines a specific proposal for the creation of an education-research center which rejoins the elements of oikos.

I.

Good management at any level presupposes knowledge by the householder of the functions and structure of the appropriate household. At the planetary level this "true economy" requires familiarity with both physics and ecology, the former describing the canvas on which the latter paints the web of life. From the perspective of physics the world is governed by the laws of thermodynamics. The first of these states that while we can change the form of energy we cannot destroy it. In other words what goes in must come out, albeit in altered form. We burn a lump of coal, for instance, and in the process create a like amount of waste heat, ashes, smoke, and work. The second law states that in a closed system this flow goes in only one direction: from order and concentration (low entropy, e.g., the lump of coal) to disorder (high entropy, e.g., the ashes, smoke, and waste heat). Theoretically, the process is reversible, but only with a net loss of energy and the creation of additional disorder.

All life requires a supply of low entropy. Humans are unique, however, in the extent to which they have increased the amount of energy released and the rate of the entropic flow by tapping stored fossil fuels of coal, natural gas, and oil. We can portray the throughput of the five billion tons of matter and energy that enter the U.S. economy each year as a flow from farms, forests, mines, wells, and oceans to dumps, sewage outfalls, the atmosphere, and to the stock of finished goods with varying residence times in the economy as valued artifacts (Figure 1).

From a thermodynamics perspective we can venture three conclusions: (a) the economic process creates a ratio of order to disorder of less than unity; (b) order in any one location can be created and maintained only by

(continued from page 32)

that her mother had not had, but this did not shorten her time in housework because the standards rose dramatically. Hence, in my parents generation the work that husbands and wives did, especially if the husbands was in a white collar occupation, came to differ dramatically. This has been even more true for my generation. In sum, if one assumes that men are basically fair-minded creatures, then one would expect a tendency on the part of these white collar types to do more than merely 'help' with the daily scutwork.

Women's irritation is the other side of the coin. Modern women tend to be highly educated. More than 85% of young women now finish high school, and a sizable proportion complete college. When these women finish a day at the office or the classroom, or wherever, they will increasingly ask why they are expected to do more at home. But change will be very slow.

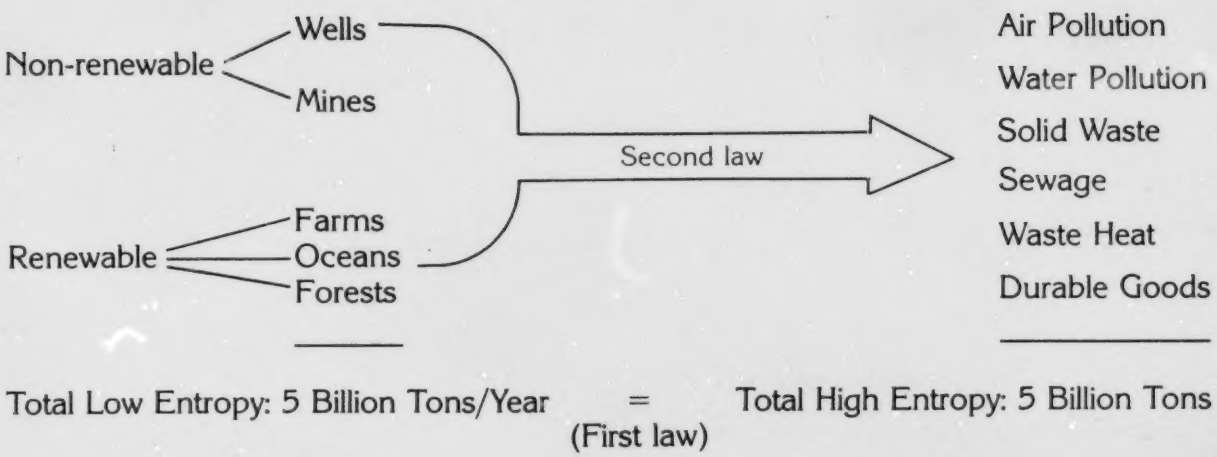

Figure 1. The Entropic Flow

increasing disorder elsewhere; and (c) to speed the pace of economic growth is to speed the pace of disorder and ecological disorganization. Every society must make fundamental choices about:

1. The source of energy—renewable or non-renewable;
2. The rate and volume of throughput;
3. The length of supply lines for food, energy, water, and materials.

In general, we can assume that the longer the entropic flow, the higher its rate and volume, and the greater the use of non-renewable resources, the greater the environmental disruption due to the laws of thermodynamics, and the greater the consequent need for regulation, management, and centralization of control.

The world from the perspective of thermodynamics is steadily moving toward disorder. A second model based on ecology, however, provides a contrary picture of increasing order and hence the elements of an entropy conserving system tending toward stability and complexity. Ecosystems are open systems regarding energy and have evolved mechanisms and structures that conserve and recycle available matter. Biogeochemical components of the natural world such as carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, and water continually move in vast, solar powered cycles ranging from several decades to tens of thousands of years. Natural systems are patterns of complex interactions organized hierarchically as ecosystems, bioregions, and the global biosphere. At each level there is great diversity of life forms, a high degree of structural redundancy, closed material loops, interdependence, decentralization, and overall resilience so that ecosystems are buffered from disturbances elsewhere and smaller units have a high degree of autonomy and adaptive potential. To an extent, natural systems are organized like a Chinese puzzle: boxes within boxes within boxes so that smaller units mirror the structure and functions of larger ones.

As ecosystems mature, they exhibit tendencies toward increasing complexity, biotic quality, mutuality among species, and higher levels of information and overall stability. Biogeochemical cycles become more closed and their turnover time increases. Finally, through each stage of succession, nature selects life forms that are more efficient in the use of available energy than their competitors.

In contrast to the closed loops and complexity of natural systems, modern societies are characterized by long, vulnerable supply lines, dumps, monocultures, linear growth, and high entropy. Human intervention in nature has customarily resulted in simplifying natural diversity, reducing the multiplicity of species in favor of those which are particularly useful to man; reducing the number and complexity of interactions and in causing destabilizing changes in habitats. In short, man pushes the earth household toward a less mature, less resilient, and less stable stage of succession. A cornfield contrasts markedly with the forest or prairie it replaced, being far more vulnerable to pests, blight, drought, and to interruptions in the supply of energy imported in the form of fuels, pesticides, and fertilizers.

Good household management at the planetary scale requires seeing ecology both as a set of constraints and as a model of a low entropy system to be emulated. It would strive to minimize disruption of ecological balances and to take maximum advantage of the free services of nature including water storage, soil protection, nutrient cycling, population balances, ecological stability, climate stability, pollination, and predator-prey balances in the full awareness of the limits of any human agency to restore or compensate for environmental damage.

Management of the earth household aims toward what Lester Brown[1] and others describe as a "sustainable society" which includes:

- The use of renewable sources of energy
- Materials conservation and recycling
- Protection of ecosystems, species diversity, and fragile areas
- A high degree of local and regional self-reliance for food, energy, water, and economic support
- Environmentally sound, soil conserving agriculture
- Greater balance between rural and urban sectors

[1]Lester Brown, *Building A Sustainable Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981)

- Population, technology, and resource use balanced with environmental carrying capacity
- Less materialistic values, voluntary simplicity
- Appropriate technology
- Ethics conducive to equity, justice, and social regeneration.

Careful management of the earth household must recognize the mutual importance of human and biosphere needs, and the essentiality of diversity, complexity, stability, and symbiosis in all systems. It should promote a high degree of sub-system autonomy and diversity; to close waste loops so that every output is an input elsewhere; to move toward renewable sources of energy; and to create a high degree of redundancy to minimize vulnerability to disruption.

At the level of *the domestic household* and local community, one can see a microcosm of the larger crisis of planetary mismanagement. The typical house takes in materials and produces garbage (Figure 2). It takes in food and water and sends out sewage. It takes in prodigious amounts of energy and releases waste heat. It produces nothing, serving only as a sink for things passing through. If we widen the focus to include the sources of supply—the wells, mines, farms, forests—the household appears as both a cause and symptom of dependence on a long and vulnerable supply line that includes multinational corporations, utilities, and foreign governments; and at the other side a costly, ecologically devastating disposal system.

The typical community, subdivision, or neighborhood is no less dependent. Jobs, shopping, education, recreation, and public services are widely separated from housing and require an enormous remedial investment in highways, energy production, and psychiatric bills. The result is the impoverishment and destruction of community life, the essence of which in Martin Buber's words is found in its "center . . . a common relation . . . overriding all other relations." but where is the center of the subdivision? Or that of the condominium? Or the shopping mall? Or the slum? The well advertised successes of the modern age have been those centrifugal ones of power, speed, and technological wizardry; its failures the centripetal ones of rootedness, meaning, and sustainability.

True economy in the domestic household and local community is based on ecological principles in order to minimize the rate and volume of the entropic flow by:

- Using renewable energy for heat and electricity
- Recycling wastes
- Passive designs for heating and cooling
- Growing food on site
- The efficient use of materials.

Such structures (which the New Alchemists call "bioshelters") represent a partnership between the occupant, the structure, the sun, the earth, and biology. As suggested in Figure 3, a bioshelter is more than just the site of consumption, sleep, and entertainment. It is a place for growing food, cycling wastes, producing energy, and human interaction. Its occupants must trade the Madison Avenue ideals of convenience and total comfort, and the utter dependence they entail for greater self-reliance, independence, and personal competence. To the extent that people begin to shorten entropic supply lines for food, energy, materials, and water, and to recycle wastes on site they also:

- Reduce environmental impacts associated with mining and rsource extraction, processing, and transport;
- Reduce burdens on central governments;
- Increase social and neighborhood cohesion;
- Increase social resilience by reducing vulnerability to energy shortfalls, food shortages, etc.;
- Weaken the inordinate power of government and monopolies;
- Create jobs at the local level; and
- Create local markets.

II.

The cumulative effects of mismanagement of households—domestic and planetary—have created what Robert Heilbroner has called a "contingent life sentence" hanging over humankind. At least two parts of the sentence, the threat of nuclear annihilation and that of ecological suffocation, are now permanent features of the human condition. Both proceed by stealth, mostly outside the noisy clamor of the evening headlines. Beside them, other issues fade in significance. It is not too much to assert that the decisions about whether and under what conditions life will be lived in the 21st century are being made now.

While there is room for disagreement about specifics of the sentence, there is broad agreement on at least four aspects of it. First, we have come to the end of the historically brief era of cheap energy. The easily exploitable fossil fuels of coal, oil, and natural gas that powered the first 150 years of the industrial age will be nearly exhausted by the year 2000. If additional reserves of fossil energy are discovered they will be found deeper in the earth's crust, in more remote places, and will be more costly and destructive to extract and transport. Technological substitutes, whether synthetic fuels, nuclear fusion, or electricity from space satellites, will be far more expensive and will have their own political, social, economic, and ecological consequences, many of which are unpredictable. Having built a civilization on the premise that energy would always be cheap and abundant, there is a long and uncertain transition ahead to one which is efficient, conserving, and powered from renewable sources.

Second, a growing body of evidence indicates that the earth is rapidly becoming biologically less productive and ecologically less stable. Soil erosion, habitat destruction, species extinction, desertification, deforestation, pollution, acid rain, toxic and radioactive contamination, and oceanic pollution are impinging on biological systems at an unprecedented rate. The *Global 2000 Report*,[2] for example, concluded that the momentum of existing trends will result in a world 18 years hence in which

[2]The evidence on environmental deterioration is enormous. The best summary is found in the recent study *The Global 2000 Report to the President* which was a joint effort of the U.S. Department of State and the Council on Environmental Quality (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980); see also Paul and Anne Ehrlich *Extinction* (New York: Random House, 1981).

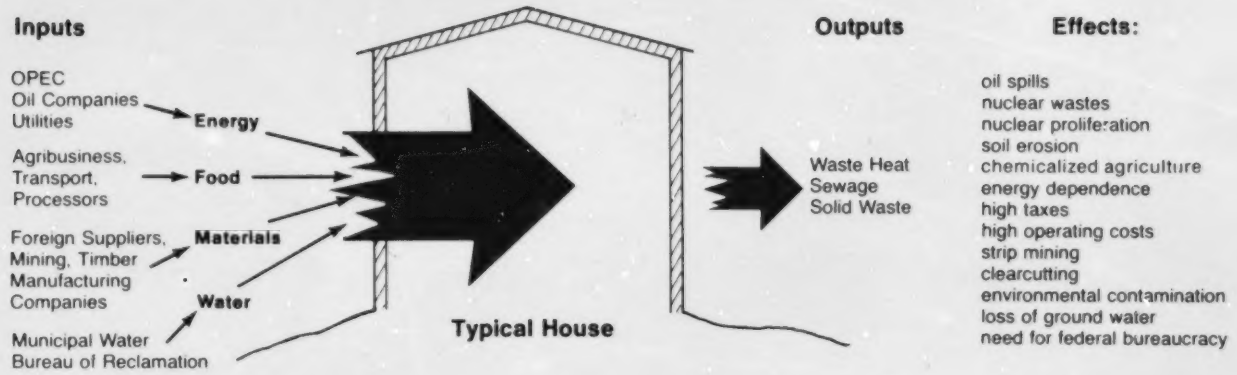

Figure 2

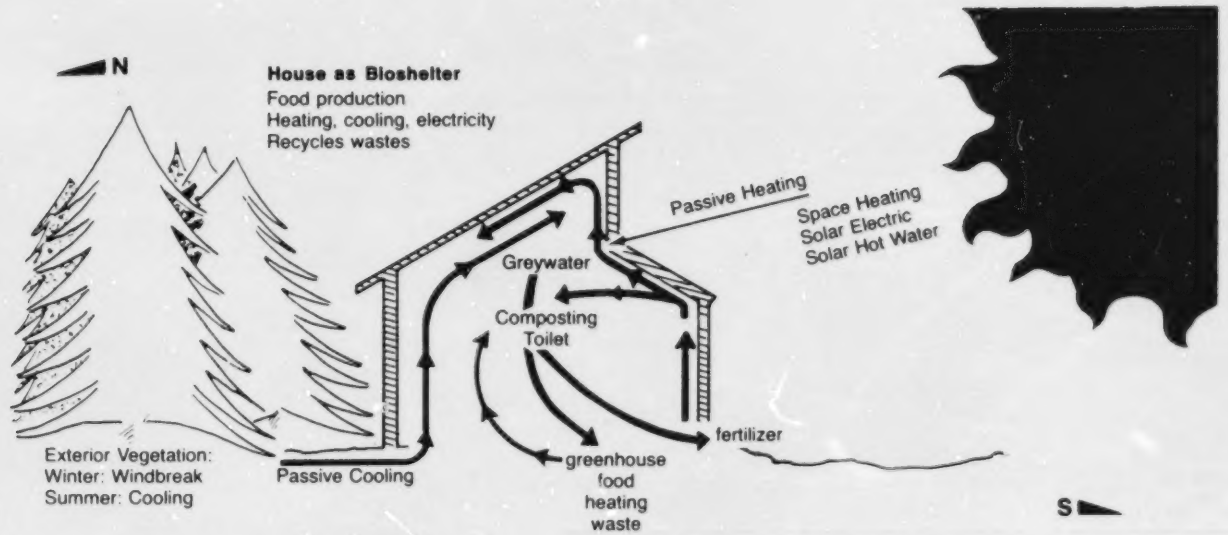

Figure 3

15-20% of the present plant and animal life will be extinct; 660,000 square miles of productive farmland will have been lost to soil erosion and desertification; and 40% of the remaining forests in less developed countries will have been destroyed. Evidence is also mounting that we are now witnessing the early stages of CO_2 induced climate change, but with what other ecological, social, and economic effects we don't know. In short, all of the earth's major systems, grasslands, deserts, forests, fisheries, and croplands, are under severe and increasing stress.

Third, these effects will be compounded by population growth which will reach 6 billion before the year 2000, and 10-12 billion eighty years later, even though birthrates are generally declining. Most of these persons will be poor, malnourished, and prone to disease and early death. All will be adversely affected by the diffusion of nuclear capability and political instability. High rates of soil erosion, rising energy costs, urbanization, and depletion of groundwater in many parts of the world suggest that starvation and malnutrition will be epidemic as Malthus predicted nearly two centuries ago.

Fourth, the continued insanity of the nuclear arms race and the diffusion of nuclear capability creates unprecedented control of dwindling supplies of energy, access to resources, and land. Domestically, we may reasonably expect political instability and high rates of unemployment, inflation, and crime in the heretofore stable societies of the west. Politicians, unable to solve increasingly complex problems at home will be under great pressure to find quick fixes abroad. Consequently the dangers of war by accident, blunder, or miscalculation are far from insignificant.

In these circumstances the ruling industrial-technocratic paradigm based on hierarchy, coercion, and accumulation can lead only to the fulfillment of the sentence described by Heilbroner. Alternatively, it can be commuted only by enough people thinking and acting differently in accord with human and planetary needs.

III.

This brings me to education. The worth of formal education must be judged in part by how well it prepares persons to be responsible households at both levels and to recognize and act on the important issues of their time. But the word "education" is not self-defining. Its meaning

changes according to the goals sought. For this reason it has always been easier to talk about teaching which involves primarily technique than about education which implies substance and requires choices between competing goals and values. What is it that is really important to teach? What values are worth preserving? At a time when anything seems to go, and when many steadfastly uphold only the value of value neutrality, the questions themselves seem remote and archaic. For this reason they are perhaps all the more important.

For the sake of clarity, I shall share my assumptions that, at the societal level, education ought to promote:

- Justice and equity
- Democratic participation
- Non-violence
- Resilience, flexibility, and diversity
- Harmony between social and natural systems.

Values at this level, however, are abstractions until we state what is expected to occur in the mind and personhood of the individual. At this level, then, I assume that education ought to promote (Figure 4):

- Individual growth, transcendence, or what Maslow called "self-actualization";
- Intellectual vitality and breadth, leading to a sense of the connectedness of things;
- Ecological literacy in combination with a sense of what Schweitzer called "reverence for life";
- Personal competence and skill in a variety of practical and intellectual dimensions;
- Strength tempered by compassion.

The intersection of both sets of values suggests an alternative curriculum formed by unifying the macro and the micro; the global and the local; and the cosmic with one's own psyche. If societies reflect in the aggregate the characteristics of their individual members, then the transition to sustainability will require, among other things, the transformatin of individuals and the way they relate to the natural world and to each other.

But at the time when the need for new visions and capabilities is greater than ever before, the educational establishment is in disarray. At its low levels, education, in Jacques Barzun's words, is a "wasteland where violence and vice share time with ignorance and idleness," while its upper levels have lost their "wholeness and integrity."[3] The problem goes deeper than the usual complaints about falling SAT scores or the inability of high school and college graduates to communicate in recognizable English.

These are symptoms of a more general disease, the essence of which Alfred North Whitehead once described as the "fatal disconnection of subjects" in the modern curriculum. Education, according to Whitehead, has only one subject matter: "life in all its manifestations."[4] In this view, it is similar to the ancient Greek concept of paideia which meant a lifelong transformatin involving all facets of the human personality and all aspects of life.[5]

Paideia, in Lewis Mumford's words: "is not merely a learning; it is a making and a shaping; and man himself is the work of art that paideia seeks to form."[6] The aim of paideia was self-transformation, personal wholeness, and competence: a search for the "divine center." Its methods were those of open dialogue, participation, and experience. It was not segregated into particular places, for certain hours, during a brief segment of life. Paideia assumed no distinction between learning and living. Learning was aimed to achieve mastery in the art (techne) of life; life and culture were the school. At its best paideia led to persons of physical and intellectual vitality; persons capable of performing different functions with skill and grace, harboring a wealth of interests and abilities, and informed by a large view of life.

Modern education, for all of its conspicuous scholarship and architecture, suffers by comparison. For wholeness and balance it substitues specialization; for life, the modern curriculum with all of its disciplinary pigeonholes; for breadth, narrow careerism; for the wise teacher, the teaching machine; for civic virtue, privatism and self-indulgence; for lifelong transformation, professionalism; and for the excellence (arete) sought by the

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[3]Jacques Barzun, *Teacher in America* (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1980), p. ix.

[4]Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 6.

[5]The classic treatment of paideia is found in Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939-1944), three volumes.

[6]Lewis Mumford, *The Transformations of Man* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972), p. 187.

	TRADITIONAL	PAIDEIA
Definition	information transfer	understanding/wisdom
Goal	specialization	breadth/competence/creativity
Method	lecture/passivity	dialogue/experience
Curriculum	disciplines	interdisciplinary
Duration	ages 6-21	lifelong
Worldview	Cartesian	organic/interrelated
Politics	technocracy	democratic/participatory
Structure	hierarchical	lateral
To nature	domination	co-evolution/partnership
Architecture	disjointed/factory	bioshelters/"gentle"
Self-reliance	none	high
To local community	incidental relationship	involvement
Resource use	linear	materials recycled
Relationships	competitive	cooperative

Figure 4. Educational Paradigms

Greeks we have the standard achievement test. Instead of the broad educational environment of the polis, the theater, the marketplace, and the forum, we confine education to an artificial setting often resembling the modern factory in form, technique, and results.

Although paideia represents an ideal remote from us in time and circumstance, it nonetheless suggests three essential qualities of genuine education relevant to the crisis of sustainability. First, it directs us toward the discovery of wholeness or what Gregory Bateson described as the "pattern which connects."[7] Second, paideia points us away from disjointed secularization of the modern curriculum toward the recognition that education at its best is inherently a lifelong quest for personal transformation. Third, paideia suggests experience as a pedagogical tool for reasons alluded to by Whitehead:

> . . .we must rise above the exclusive association of learning with book learning. First-hand knowledge is the ultimate basis of intellectual life. To a large extent book learning conveys second-hand information, and as such can never rise to the importance of immediate practice.
>
> The second-handedness of the learned world is the secret of its mediocrity. It is tame because it has never been scared by the facts.[8]

Applied to the modern curriculum, paideia leads us to discard the notion that information alone will change the world. Information without understanding, in Archibald MacLeish's words, is like "an answer without a question—meaningless."[9] Understanding is a product first of self-discovery that is rooted in both thought and experience. As David Schuman describes the process:

> The student who sits in philosophy class expounding the theory of the Ubermensch, then spends two hours trying to overcome a mule's desire to remain unharnessed, has learned an undeniable lesson about aspiring toward Godhead: he must do it, of course, but he must bring to the task some qualities of humility, commitment, dedication, and resilience.[10]

And maybe humor. This is the process of paideia in which intellect is disciplined by experience; imagination by compassion; and responsibility is forged on the anvil of necessary work as a means of overcoming egocenteredness, of developing one's faculties, and to produce necessary goods and services.[11]

IV.

My purpose in this section is to propose the development of an educational center which joins the process of paideia with the concern for making connections between the different elements of oikos. The Center would be the focal point for the Meadowcreek Project, a 501 (c) (3) non-profit educational organization located in Fox, Arkansas. The primary purpose for the Center is the study of the large array of questions implicit in the contingent sentence described by Heilbroner:

- In a finite world what do people need to know?
- How should they live?
- What kind of persons should they be?
- What does sustainability imply for technology? politics? agriculture? energy systems? community design? shelter design? social structures? economics? rural development? and not the least values?

In short, what does it mean for homo sapiens to live according to the land ethic described by Aldo Leopold, going from "conqueror of the land community to plain member and citizen of it"?[12]

We are becoming acutely aware of what happens when a society squanders its resources and bankrupts itself through unwise investments, waste, and mismanagement. It is no less certain that intellectual and moral bankruptcy follows when a society has exhausted its store of creative ideas and has lost its will to act decisively. When the gap between reality and the reigning ideas and paradigms becomes too great, civilizations decline and fall. Old institutions like outdated factories with worn out equipment lose the capability to generate the intellectual capital necessary to compete with circumstances. The purpose of the Meadowcreek Project is to establish the Center as an arena for creative thinking, research, and education on the problems of sustainability, unencumbered by the inertia of habit and obligations owed to the status quo. Its mission is twofold: (1) to contribute to the intellectual capital necessary to the transition to a sustainable society; and (2) to distribute that capital through education, research, publications, film, and conferences.

The Meadowcreek Project was begun in 1979 as a unique endeavor to combine the concerns for environmental responsibility, personal growth, and education in a 1500 acre microcosm. At the outset the Project initiated an ongoing survey of ecological factors including soil chemistry, plant and animal ecology, hydrology, meteorology, geology, and forest resources as the basis for planning and operations. The survey will also serve as a basis for scientific research on the ecology of the Ozarks bioregion.

On completion, the Project will include: (1) a 300 acre organically operated farm with orchards, livestock, aquaculture ponds, greenhouses, field crops, intensive gardens, and a processing center; (2) a micro-industrial area with a sawmill, wood products shop, solar wood drying kilns, mechanical shop, blacksmith shop, and metal foundry; (3) a renewable energy system producing mechanical power, electricity, and liquid fuels from microhydro, biomass, wind, photovoltaics, and direct solar; (4) a community of 75 to 150 permanent residents, market center and co-op, recreation and community facilities; and (5) an education and conference center with a staff of 12 to 20 persons representing a variety of

[7]Gregory Bateson, *Mind and Nature* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979), pp. 3-21.

[8]Whitehead, p. 51.

[9]As quoted in A. H. Maslow, *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 171.

[10]David Schuman, "Education and Solipsism," *Co-Evolution Quarterly* No. 29, (Spring, 1981), p. 139.

[11]E. F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974), pp. 5-58.

[12]Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973), pp. 237-264.

disciplines including the sciences, social sciences, humanities, engineering; a library, conference facilities, residence area, and data processing equipment. For the Center and its students, the Project will provide laboratories, classroom, and textbooks. Its workshops, fields, forests, equipment, and activities will serve, in Elise Boulding's words as a "complex of learning sites full of teachers and learners."[13]

The Project represents a synthesis of imaginative science, sound business management, ideas, and technologies. It is neither a retreat into a mythical, rustic past, nor a rush toward an equally unrealistic futuristic fantasy. On the contrary, it is an experiment in balancing the home, the work place and the earth; the old with the new, ecology with economics, male and female, the practical with the theoretical, and the rural and urban. Its success will be measured, not in the creation of new dogmas, but in its contribution to sharpening and defining the implications of Leopold's land ethic by fostering good thought, imaginative research, working demonstrations, and dedicated teaching that catalyzes change elsewhere.

For a select group of college interns and apprentices each semester, the daily schedule at Meadowcreek would include small discussion groups and library work; research on carefully supervised projects; work with Project members; and social and recreational activities. The activities of the Center will initially include:

1. *Research* on: agroecosystem management; primary and secondary productivity in agroecosystems; agricultural nutrient cycling; forest ecology; forest management systems; forest products utilization; integration of energy systems
2. *Field work* in: forestry; woodworking; renewable energy systems; organic farming techniques; intensive gardening; integrated pest management; aquaculture; horticulture; passive solar design; earth integrated design; landscape architecture; timber farming; mechanics; blacksmithing; metal working
3. Social science, philosophical, humanities aspects of sustainability: politics of ecology; policy design; philosophy and environmental ethics; economics of sustainability

Each intern will work in all three areas, mastering the fundamentals of ecology, applying these to a carefully designed, well-supervised research project, and exploring the political, social, economic, and philosophical aspects of sustainability through reading and discussion.

Scientific research at Meadowcreek will be aimed toward: (1) evaluating and monitoring the impact of Project activities on the local ecosystem; (2) understanding the structure and function of ecosystems in the Ozarks bioregion, and the effects of alternative management approaches to these systems; and (3) the development of permanent agricultural systems (tree cropping and "permaculture"), and low-impact, high-yield sustainable forestry. *Applied programs* at Meadowcreek will be aimed toward education, experimentation, and demonstration of technologies and methods of environmentally sound agriculture, energy production, forestry, shelter, and waste cycling. *Social sciences and humanities* inquiry will focus on the large array of political, economic, and philosophical questions involved in sustainability. Will sustainable societies be highly centralized and authoritarian as Robert Heilbroner and others argue, or decentralized and democratic as Amory Lovins proposes? How do various technologies affect political forms? What is the philosophical/theological basis for sustainability? What are its social values and how do these arise? What is the appropriate balance between rural and urban?

The full-time membership of the Center will include persons trained in ecology, forestry, agronomy, the social sciences, and the humanities who are capable of transcending disciplinary barriers and dedicated to closing the gap between talk and do. The Center will also host a small number of resident scholars.

The architecture for the Center and its residence facilities will integrate aesthetic quality, and the philosophy of environmental stewardship, with the requirements for dialogue and contemplation. The Center and residence buildings will be passively heated and cooled. They will use composting toilets and recycling greywater systems. Electricity for the complex will be provided by a combination of photovoltaics and wind power. The Center building will include a conference hall for groups of 100; offices for 20, a library, computer, small laboratory, and attached greenhouse. The building site is 250 feet above the valley floor permitting a clear view of the Meadowcreek valley, the bluffs and forests to the west, and the gorge of the middle fork of the Little Red River to the south. A large multi-level deck on the west side of the Center will provide a natural intersection point for members as will the Village commons, workshops, co-op, community center, chapel, and recreation facilities which are all within an easy five-minute walk.

Construction on the educational complex will be done by the Meadowcreek Project using local resources to the maximum. Timber will be locally cut and milled in the Project sawmill. Rock, sand, and gravel will come from Meadowcreek. Tables, chairs, desks, and other wood furnishings will be made in the Project shop. Metal work and hardware will be hand forged in the Project blacksmith shop. Landscaping for the Center will integrate experimental and food producing plants with structures, ponds, and open areas.

I've come a long way from oikos and the Apollo photograph to the creation of a small education Center in Fox, Arkansas. The approach is similar to that of Thoreau who went to Walden pond to simplify life and drive it into a corner where he could examine it with less distraction. The Meadowcreek Project, likewise, is an attempt to drive a large number of the issues relating to the sustainability of the human adventure into a 1500-acre microcosm where they can be more easily studied, experienced, and taught, and where we can learn to reconnect homes, work places, and ecosystems in ways that are humane and durable.

[13]Elise Boulding, "Education for Inventing the Future," in Dennis L. Meadows (ed.), *Alternatives to Growth—I* (Cambridge: Ballinger Co., 1977), p. 307.

Teaching About Work and Family: An Interdisciplinary Approach for Secondary and Higher Education

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The recognition that work roles and family roles impinge on each other and often conflict, has come about only fairly recently. This recognition has come about as a result of women's changing roles, especially their greatly increased labor force participation, the increase in single-parent families, and a reevaluation of the costs and benefits of men's traditional career patterns (Kanter, 1977).

These trends and the resulting increased complexity of the work-family relationship make it increasingly important to incorporate material on this relationship in formal coursework. Individuals need information which will help them plan for and cope with the work and family roles they are likely to experience; professionals who work with families need to understand more fully work-family relationships in order to carry out their jobs effectively.

The incorporation of material on work-family relationships in several different units or courses, e.g., material on how work affects personal relationships in a family living course and material on economic issues in a home management or family economics course, is not the most desirable approach, although this is probably the way such material is usually taught. Ideally, the two domains—interpersonal relationships and economic issues—should be integrated in a single interdisciplinary unit or course. Without this integration, students are likely to lose sight of the personal and economic trade-offs involved in making decisions relevant to work and family roles.

Because of our strong belief in the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to a course on work and family, the two of us—with backgrounds in Family Relations and Family Economics—pooled efforts a couple of years ago to develop and co-teach a graduate seminar called Work and the Family. We would like to share with you information about that course as well as our ideas regarding how material related to the work-family interface could be presented at the secondary level. We'll address the latter first.

A SECONDARY EDUCATION COURSE OR UNIT ON WORK AND THE FAMILY

Objectives and Content

At the high school level, the focus of a course or unit on work and family should be on interpersonal development and decision-making. Adolescence is a widely recognized period of identity formation and most of this identity struggle is thought to be centered on life issues, those individual choices about everyday functioning. Thus, much of this identity crystallization process involves the exploration of work and family role options and strategies for successfully combining these potentially conflicting roles.

Adolescence is generally regarded as an appropriate time for educators to focus on adult roles of work and family. Several studies have indicated that such roles have no real meaning beyond fantasy prior to preadolescence. Schools may be an ideal setting to explore these adult roles and related responsibilities since adolescent children through the school setting are required to become increasingly productive, to be serious, to meet prescribed standards, and at the same time to balance these responsibilities with ever increasing heterosexual social involvement (Thornburg, 1982).

Because of this identity process going on within the adolescent, a unit on work and family might profitably begin with an exploration of vocational interests and family lifestyle options. Students should be made aware of career and lifestyle opportunities and of the personal and economic costs and benefits of various alternatives.

Also, it is important to the adolescent's adult role-taking to spend some time exploring the meaning and importance of work in American society. Students should become aware of the importance of the work role in meeting many essential needs, e.g., financial, identity, social, and status, as well as the potential strains on family life. An historical overview of the changing meaning and value of work in the United States should prove helpful in demonstrating both the importance of work roles and the inherent conflict with family roles.

Because of the largely female populations in most home economics classes and the radical changes in female roles in recent years, much time in a work and family unit should be devoted to the changing role concepts that females (as well as males) must confront today. Adolescent females will experience some degree of role conflict in their identity resolution process as they have traditionally been socialized to find their identity in the wife-mother-homemaker role but are now being told that real fulfillment comes from playing an occupational role (Safilios-Rothschild, 1979). Thus, adolescent female students should analyze any ambivalence regarding their role as well as related issues of motives to avoid success, fear of failure, and the Cinderella syndrome. They should also be made aware of the economic costs borne by divorced or widowed women who have no marketable skills. To the extent that males foresee role options not traditionally characteristic of their sex role, potential role conflict issues should be explored.

Role overload dilemmas must also be examined as men and women increasingly attempt to combine work and family roles. Students should be made aware of the time and energy constraints of dual-work arrangements and alternatives to traditional means of carrying out house-

hold and child care tasks, especially in view of the uncertainty of husband/father support. Fertility decisions including child spacing and the childless option should be included in any discussion of role overload. Also, the costs and benefits of discontinuous career patterns during child rearing years warrant serious attention.

Because occupational pressures, role strain, and role overload are certainly capable of interfering with a satisfactory family life for men and women, some attention should be devoted to coping and adaptation strategies. Emphasis might be placed on the importance of support groups, individual coping strategies, and budgeting of time. Also, at this point the importance of leisure time pursuits should be explored in a general discussion of factors related to quality of life and general life satisfaction.

Any unit dealing with the integration of work and family should address employer fringe benefits that have the potential for alleviating some of the competition between these work and family systems. The feasibility of such options as job sharing, working at home, flex-time, permanent part time work, and employer-subsidized child care should be examined in terms of meeting life goals.

In keeping with the framework of most secondary home economics courses, a life-span or developmental approach to the topic might be useful in applying a time dimension to the discussion of any of these work-family issues. Students should be made aware of the changing nature of work and the varying nature of work-family problems over the course of the typical family life cycle. Also, unanticipated departures from this traditional life cycle should be explored, e.g., mid-life career change, divorce, and unemployment.

Learning Experiences

Although adolescents are often unaware of the importance of their experiences, most adolescent experiences have some long-term implications for them; this is especially true in value-related decisions. If adolescents are given some guidance, so that they know what is expected of them, they can focus better on their task of identity resolution and thus evolve into functioning adults (Thornburg, 1982). Secondary teachers have access to numerous strategies and activities that can facilitate the adolescent's identity consolidation in terms of work-family role decisions:

1) Value clarification activities are essential to rational decision-making at any age, but they can be especially useful to the often perplexed adolescent. Hierarchical exercises as well as analysis of related case study material can be extremely revealing to the adolescent in work-family decision-making.

2) To impress upon the adolescent the meaning, importance, and potential problems of work in American society, the utilization of literature and the mass media can be very helpful. For example, an examination of Arthur Miller's *Death of A Salesman* or the motion picture *Kramer vs. Kramer* can effectively document this content both cognitively and emotionally.

3) Because many problems in combining work and family roles are sex-role related, much time should be devoted to class discussions of the myths associated with sex-role stereotypes; debates, group discussions and panel presentations may provide information for analysis.

4) To illustrate both the problems and potentialities of various work-family arrangements, a panel presentation by couples or individuals engaged in a variety of lifestyle options could be effective. Role playing and simulations could also be effective in assessing the personal and economic costs and benefits of various role options.

5) Coping and problem-solving strategies are vital in any combination of work and family roles. Cases or problems submitted to advice columnists might be used as focal points for discussion. Also, the school counselor or a speaker from a local mental health agency may be asked to address such issues as career change, burnout, unemployment and stress related to deviating from one's socially prescribed sex role behavior.

6) Finally, it is very important that students be exposed to the world of work to appreciate fully the challenges and demands of this sphere of life. Field trips to or speakers from various businesses would thus be recommended.

Of course, there are numerous other aids available that could stimulate meaningful learning activities for students, e.g., films, filmstrips, specific readings, or class reports. We would stress the importance of using those experiences that offer the potential of maximum realistic involvement to students who will soon be making crucial life decisions regarding work and family roles. We would also like to reiterate the importance of noting both the personal and economic issues involved in any particular aspect of the work-family relationship under discussion. Students will be ill-prepared to make optimal decisions without this balanced approach.

A COLLEGE-LEVEL COURSE ON WORK AND THE FAMILY

In contrast to a secondary level course, a college level course addressing the work-family interface would focus primarily on professional rather than personal development. To accomplish this goal, more attention should be paid to research than to personal feelings and choices; and the implications of research for public policy, education, and other means of intervention should be explored. Undergraduate and graduate students in an interdisciplinary course on work and the family should explore the following:

1) the historical linkage of the work and the family systems in the United States,

2) the impact of alternative work structures on family function and dynamics,

3) public policy issues related to facilitating the integration of work and family,

4) recent research on the interface of work and family, and

5) research hypotheses that would fill knowledge gaps in the work-family research literature.

Our class begins with a discussion of current data on employment and income trends (primarily from the Bureau of Labor Statistics) and how work roles impact on family roles (utilizing such sources as the Institute for Social Research 1977 Quality of Employment Survey and 1981 General Mills Families At Work Survey). These tables are presented to facilitate quantitative thinking and

to promote comprehension of the magnitude of some of the trends to be discussed later. In the next class session, an overview of the extent to which family roles have been integrated over time is presented. These two classes set the stage for an examination of specific issues.

The eight specific issues (eight because of the length of the quarter) addressed in the course have varied slightly each time the course has been taught. Always included are (a) the impact of alternative work patterns on marital interaction, (b) the division of labor in the household and child care and parenting, and (c) such economic issues as occupational segregation and earnings of women, and tax and transfer policy as related to work patterns. Other topics have included fertility, unemployment, retirement, leisure, work scheduling, and consumption patterns.

Whenever possible both theory and research findings are incorporated into the discussion of a topic. In a few instances where there is little of either research or theory, readings are used which delineate the issue and offer discussion-provoking alternatives to resolving it; this approach has been effectively used in covering work scheduling and tax and transfer policy. It has also been difficult in some cases to locate research which is sufficiently recent to be relevant. For example, any research conducted before 1970, or even 1975, in which attitude toward wife-mother employment is a key variable is likely to be outdated since attitudes toward this phenomenon have changed so rapidly in recent years.

To provide greater understanding of the direction this course takes after the initial two classes, a few of the specific issues our classes have discussed will be presented. With respect to fertility, students are asked to consider the long range effects on society of foregone or reduced fertility on the part of educated, career-oriented women. Should this trend be offset to some degree, and if so, how? On a similar note, what are the costs and benefits of postponed parenthood?

In discussing the division of labor in a household, it is noted that various work patterns do not seem to have much effect on who carries out which tasks at home; why this phenomenon has been so resistant to change is addressed. Emphasis is also placed on the kinds of experiences and education young people need to enable them to accept family roles that are congruent with their work roles. Also addressed is an economic theory of the household which in simple terms states that each person should do those tasks at which he or she is most efficient to maximize economic welfare. Discussion of this theory is typically quite lively as this theory amounts to an advocacy of traditional roles without allowing either sex to become efficient at the other's task; should the marriage dissolve for any reason, both partners or the remaining partner would lack essential survival skills.

Child care literature is also explored and the inadequacy of child care arrangement is noted, despite the pressure of advocacy groups for more day care centers. Some time is spent discussing desirable qualities in day care, licensing procedures, and related issues. The costs and benefits of alternative work schedules as a means of balancing work and family responsibilities are debated.

As part of a more general discussion of poverty and its obvious relation to work, ways in which existing transfer programs affect the work behavior or recipients are examined. Also discussed is the treatment of dual-work families under the Federal income tax code and Social Security system, and alternatives are examined.

Because the class is taught as a seminar, considerable responsibility for its success is given to the students. They share responsibility with the instructors for developing a reading list for each topic, for presenting part of the lectures, and for leading discussions. A device both we and our students have used to generate worthwhile discussion is to distribute discussion questions a week ahead of the class. Some questions are general, some entail critiquing assigned readings, and some address professional applications of the knowledge gained.

Because we have been fortunate in attracting students with a variety of professional backgrounds (e.g., nursing, social work, extension, and day care) we have not needed to turn to guest speakers as a means of demonstrating the professional relevance of the material studied. In the absence of such a varied and experienced class, we would anticipate utilizing a few guest speakers whose positions entail helping families cope with work-family conflicts in some way.

CONCLUSION

It is apparent that the underlying set of issues addressed by a course or unit on work and family is similar regardless of the level at which it is taught. Differences lie primarily in specific objectives and the means used to achieve them. At the secondary level personal development of students is most important whereas professional development should be stressed in a college level course. The primary contrast between an undergraduate and graduate college course would be in the extent to which independent and critical thinking would be expected of students. For example, undergraduate students would have fewer skills necessary to evaluate research than graduate students and, therefore, would need more direction from faculty in this area. We hope our ideas will facilitate others' development of units and/or courses on the work-family interface in either secondary or higher education.

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Physical and Mental Health as Factors in Work and Family

This session, titled "Work and Wellness" was a departure from the usual format of speakers. The Humanities Education Theatre Group of Illinois State University, directed by Kathryn Ervin, presented a series of mini-dramas to call attention to ways in which health problems can impact family relationships in regard to the work situation. After each brief improvisation a panel offered some analysis and/or suggested solutions.

The panel members were Madge Attwood, Chair, Health Occupations Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Marjorie Inana, Home Economics Education, University of Maryland; Ruth Dow, School of Home Economics, Eastern Illinois University; and Rosalie Tabin, therapist in private practice, Urbana, Illinois.

The Theatre group included Peter Garino, Gayle Gerard, Steven Quackenbush, and Paulette Stevens.

Situation #1:

"The husband has assumed the homemaker role 18 months since losing his job. He wants to shed these responsibilities. He learns of a job prospect at the same time that his wife gets a chance for advancement to a position that will involve travel. They have one child."

Panelists discussed husband's emotional problems, attitudes of husband and wife, societal acceptance of this so-called role "reversal," likelihood of husband's finding employment, the effect of money income on power in the family, the stress experienced by both husband and wife, the relation between stress and physical illness and the need to set priorities and compromise.

Situation #2:

"This is an interracial family with a 13-year-old daughter. Asthmatic husband is in line for a promotion which involves a move to Arizona. His wife resists the move, primarily because of her job and the question of their acceptance in a new community."

Panelists point out that it is not clear whether the asthma is serious or whether it is being used to force a decision in favor of the husband, that neither partner seems to empathize with the other, that the couple does not communicate freely, that underlying hostilities are evident and each spouse is trying to manipulate the other and use the daughter as a pawn in the controversy, the need to involve the daughter in the decision, the desirability of the husband going to Arizona to see if it really helps his asthma and whether the family might find acceptance there, the likelihood that social isolation would add stress and probably emotional and physical problems for the family, and the need to analyze the current situation carefully as they make their decision.

Situation #3:

"Husband has ulcers. After a rough day at work, he pours a drink and informs his wife about being severely criticized by his boss. The unsympathetic wife complains about his self-centeredness and demands that they provide their daughter with dental braces. Their ensuing argument reaches a high pitch."

Panelists called for counseling for this couple due to their failure to empathize and listen to each other, the wife's depression, the dangers of alcohol for an ulcer patient, and the ways in which each partner is contributing to the other's physical and emotional ill health. They thought the wife might need some private time away from home to find alternative ways to meet some of her needs, the husband might need some daily exercise and a more appropriate diet, and that both need constructive ways to deal with their stress.

Summing up all 3 of the improvisations, the panelists concluded that work-induced stress has the potential to lead to individual physical and emotional ill health which in turn, can lead to negative family interactions. Families can best cope with work-related stress by attempting to develop good communication skills, refining the art of negotiation and compromise, analyzing the needs and desires of each family member in order to identify areas of agreement and disagreement, practicing a healthy lifestyle (proper diet, regular exercise, and relaxation), and building a supportive network of family and friends.

Myths And Realities Of Work And Family: Implications For Home Economics Educators

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The home economics movement, which occurred at the turn of the century, was motivated in part by a concern of a group of socially sensitive women with the impact they felt the Industrial Revolution was and could make on everyday living in the home. Pioneer home economists such as Marian Talbot, Caroline Hunt and Ellen Richards (Brown and Paolucci, 1979) were particularly concerned with the effects that paid work was having on the physical and mental health of family members, the special burden that work, both inside and outside the household, placed on women and the effects of "piece work" and "cottage industries" on children. In this sense, one could say, that home economists have always had a concern with the interactions that occur between paid work and family systems. However, in translating their concerns into action through formal and informal education as well as research programs, the early home economists, as well as the majority of present day home economists, have placed their emphasis almost exclusively on the family system taking for granted the paid work system. They have concentrated on the unpaid work that is an integral part of the household: housework, care and nurturance of family members, volunteer work in school, church and community, management of family resources especially money, and serving as the major family consumer agent in the marketplace. The primary objective has been that of helping family members become more efficient household producers,and more effective in building positive interpersonal relationships among family members. Recently, those home economists who have adopted an ecological perspective in studying and working with families have turned their attention toward managing the interactions that take place between the family and its immediate environments. A critical environment for the post-industrial family is that of the paid work system; hence, present-day home economists are beginning to examine, and attempting to control in some measure, the reciprocal effects of paid work and family systems and to understand better these effects.

This conference serves as both a landmark and a stimulus of home economics educators. It should challenge them to motivate their clients (students) to understand the interdependence of work and family systems and to find ways for managing the effects of each system upon the other so that work systems remain viable and families can build the lifestyles they desire.

Earlier in this conference you have explored in some detail the social and economic environments that are predicted to prevail through the 1980's and their impact on work and family systems, the particular effects of paid employment and housework on the roles of women, and the implication of these factors for home economists and corporate managers and executives. In one sense, this paper is designed as a summary paper, pulling together some of the salient concepts explored during the conference and adding some ways in which home economics educators might organize action programs that will bring to the attention of old and young, females and males, worker and employer, family members and policy makers specific strategies for enhancing everyday living by coping more effectively with both family and work systems. Thus, this paper will focus on identifying and examining some prevailing myths[1] and realities of both systems and suggest some strategies which home economics educators may use in assisting family members to examine their own ideologies. Families also need to understand how these ideologies influence their everyday actions, how to analyze the realities of both systems at particular points in time and space, and to develop strategies for managing their particular worlds of work and family. Finally, it is important that they learn to involve themselves effectively in political action that will result in government and community programs that will assure the viability of work systems and enhance the human potential which is nurtured in the family systems.

For purposes of clarity in our presentation we define the work system as that of paid employment which deals primarily, but not exclusively, with carrying out of a specific set of tasks by a paid worker, the work leads to the production of a specific set of goals and services. We define the family system as one which deals primarily, but not exclusively, with those social processes undertaken by family members which build a particular set of intimate, interpersonal relationships and those unpaid tasks which produce goods and services that are used by family members.

The two systems are highly dependent upon one another. The family system produces the workers needed to provide labor in the work system. The work system, in turn, provides many of the goods and services no longer produced in the home. Because it has been easier for some to deal with these systems as separate entities, some myths about their relationship have been developed. We believe that, rather than creating rigid boundaries, this relationship helps us to recognize how interdependent these systems are and how the reality differs from the myth.

Myths and Reality No. I

The Myth. The universal and preferred family form is comprised of male and female legally bound as husband and wife, with their offspring, each with clearly defined

[1]Myth is a firmly held belief that unconsciously shapes behavior. It prevails in the cultural system, i.e., in an ethnic or social-economic group.

gender roles and division of labor with male as breadwinner, female as homemaker.

The prevailing perception of the ideal family continues to be that of traditional family: mom, dad, brother, sister living in their single family dwelling with dad going off to work each day to earn the family's living while mom stays home to care for the children, do the housework and shop, participate in a limited number of outside activities and enjoy a good measure of leisure time. The world of work and the marketplace is organized around this myth. Offices are open from 8 a.m.-5 p.m., home maintenance and delivery systems function around regular daytime schedules assuming that someone is available at home during "working hours"; doctors, dentists, lawyers can be seen by family members during "regular" hours. The preferred worker is a full-time worker; in fact, the part-time worker is penalized in a number of direct and indirect ways. Benefits are based on the assumption that the job holder (usually the male) is the sole earner. From the perspective of both the work and family system, the primary role of women remains that of homemaker; her paid work role is seen as secondary. The expectation persists that if there is illness at home, she will remain at home while the male goes to work, for the paid work is seen as primary for men while family activities are viewed as secondary. We speak of the *un*employed male as a problem, while we view the *employed* homemaker as a problem. We refer to women as "working wives or working mothers" but rarely identify males as "working husbands or working fathers." Researchers continue to label gender roles as "expressive" for women and "instrumental" for males with the underlying assumptions that the instrumental activities are rational, objective, deal with the world outside the family and are focused on providing the means for reaching family goals; these activities are deemed natural to the male. The expressive activities, the "domain of women", on the other hand, are viewed as subjective, emotional, intimate and private, and are focused on care and nurturance of family members—a labor of love (Luxton, 1980, p. 11; Parsons, 1955 and 1970). Women are not socially ostracized for being housewives, while men who are househusbands are often viewed as social misfits or lazy. A prevalent perception continues to be that women have a choice of whether to work or not work while men do not have such a choice.

The Reality. The reality is that there is diversity in family forms. The majority of families do not fit the mythical nuclear mode. According to census statistics (Household and Family by Type, March, 1980) only 11% of American families include the father as sole wage earner, mother as full-time homemaker, and their children. Thirty percent of American families have no children or no children living at home, and over 3% of households are comprised of unrelated persons living together. Over 1/5 of American households have two-earners, one or more children living at home are wage earners. In fact, 58% of mothers with school age children and 45% of mothers of preschoolers work outside the home. Some of these mothers head a single parent household. About 7% of American household are headed by women who are single parents with one or more children at home, while less than 1% of single parent households are headed by males. A household form that is on the increase is that of the single person living alone; primarily these are persons over 65, women, and young people.

Given the reality of a diversity of family/household forms, new definitions of the family are being generated. The recent White House Conference on Families adopted two definitions: the traditional definition of male and female legally bound with their blood or adopted children, and the definition of family delineated by the American Home Economics Association, that is: " 'Two or more persons who share resources, share responsibility for decisions, share values and goals, and have commitment to one another over time. The family is that climate that one 'comes home to,' and it is this network of sharing and commitments that most accurately describes the family unit, regardless of blood, legal ties, adoption or marriage' " (Friedan, 1981, p. 109). A definition of family which we find especially useful when examining family and work systems is that developed by C. M. Allen: ". . . a group of people who are bound by their common work efforts, from which their common consumption derives". (Allen, 1979, p. 35)

It is obvious that the traditional nuclear family is no longer the universal family form. If this reality does not become more widely recognized, we stand to alienate a major segment of our clientele—those persons who have employed mothers or are single parents, or both. Recognition is the first step. In the future we must take a more active role in helping to design support systems which have the flexibility to meet the diverse needs of families.

Myth and Reality No. II

The Myth. Work and family are separate systems. For most persons the worlds of work and family are seen as two distinct and unrelated spheres: "the public world of work, based on economic relations, and the private world of the family household, based on love relations" (Luxton, 1980, p. 11). The perception of separation of work and family appears to be firmly held by those wage workers who tend to view work as a necessity, a job that earns them money essential for maintaining the family. For them, family is seen as a place of leisure, rest and recuperation from the stresses, physical and emotional, of the workplace. Along with the general populace, social scientists, too, have based their studies on the assumption that work and family systems are clearly distinct and separate. Kanter (1977a, p. 8) has stated that social scientists assumed that,

> In a modern industrial society work life and family life constitute two separate and non-overlapping worlds, with their own functions, territories, and behavioral rules. Each operates by its own laws and can be studied independently. If events or decisions in one world (such as the wages awarded a worker) enter the other, they enter in the guise of external (and hence, often extraneous) variables but are not an intrinsic part of the operations of that world.

Social scientists whose work has the potential of creating as well as dispelling myths have been influential in perpetuating the separation of work and family systems.

The ideology of separateness has tended to serve the goals of the workplace more than the goals of families. In order to function efficiently, work organizations have deemed it essential to have workers who are committed to their job and loyal to the organization instead of having major commitment and loyalty to family. Performance on the job must come first if one is to be successful in the workplace. Oftentimes this loyalty to the workplace has come at a cost to families (Whyte, 1956). It has been advantageous for work organizations to break the family's control over workers so that they might exert their own control. Rewards, such as upward mobility in the organization, pay increases or employment itself were tied to the worker who placed work first, family second.

The Reality. Work and family systems are inextricably tied. Although there may be differences in the degree of connectedness between family and work systems, few social scientists today would deny that the structure of work systems has a major influence on the type and quality of family life. In turn, the availability and productivity of workers is dependent upon the family system. Earned wages and salaries are essential in today's work for acquiring goods and services necessary to everyday living. Money earned in the workplace provides the means for existence. However, the workplace does not produce workers; it is in the family that workers are produced and human capital is initially developed. It is in the family that attitudes and skills essential for developing competent workers are first developed; interpersonal competencies of trust, health, decision skills, cooperativeness. It is in the family, too, that the workers' labor power is reproduced, where energies are restored through rest, tension reduction, proper nutrition, and the hard-to-define but powerful communication of love and acceptance between and among family members.

The structure of the work system tends to structure family life. For example, time structures of the workplace (hours and schedules) structure meal times, sleep, and leisure activities of family members. If the timing is "out-of-synch" with other systems, such as school or general everyday activities, there may be major negative effects in family life. Shift work or night work is a case in point. Piotrkowski (1979) has documented the effects of the night shift of a policeman on the interpersonal relations of a family with preschool children. There was little opportunity for building relationships between the husband and wife or with the children. The total responsibility for child care and development fell upon the wife. Her daily pattern was shaped by the daytime demands of the children and the need to keep them quiet while the husband slept, his night hours placed increased responsibility on her. The emotional costs to all family members were high.

The degree to which work life penetrates family life also affects family functioning. Some jobs or careers, for example, place heavy demands on family members other than the worker: minister's spouses and family members are expected to be involved in church activities; spouses, particularly wives, of executives are expected to be involved in community activities, to entertain clients, to "represent" their husbands at community functions. All parts of family life—schedules and rhythms of living and interpersonal relationship are colored by paid work involvement of family members. The frustrations developed at work because of excessive demands, strict control and authority patterns, or uncertainty about continued employment can result in hostilities which are manifested in the family as wife or child abuse, or as isolation and non-communication on the part of the worker. All of these are examples of the connectedness of the workplace to family life.

Less obvious is the penetration of work on family when the worker carries work home: the teacher who grades papers, or the professor who in order to get tenure spends most of his/her "at home" time in isolation writing papers, the doctor who is "on-call" at all hours. Each of these illustrates how the work system is absorbed by the family system. Less well understood or documented, is how family life is absorbed by the workplace: the secretary who calls home to check on whether or not the children have had breakfast and are ready for school, the manager who calls his/her broker to check on investments, the workers who use work time and materials to plan family social activities. Family crises have an impact on the productivity of the worker: persons who have illness in the family or adolescents in difficulty, or who are in the throes of divorce tend not to give full attention to the job. Their productivity is lowered. Recently, major corporations have become cognizant of this and employed social workers to help these workers cope with family problems.

We have spent much of our energies in helping families adapt to the pressures created by the work system. Our future role may be to document better the impact family life has on the work system and to create the kind of professional who has the ability to work with organizations that want to be more responsive to family needs.

Myth and Reality No. III

The Myth. Family production and processes have minimal economic worth, hence have limited value in the larger social, economic and political systems.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the home served as the center of the production that was essential for the physical, economic and emotional survival of family members. Goods and services produced in the household were for the family's own consumption and in some cases goods and services were exchanged with persons outside the household for needed goods and services. With industrialization, particularly in capitalistic economic systems, the production of goods and services that had exchange value moved outside the home to the workplace. Family members became workers in the factory, farm, municipality, or corporation, exchanging their labor for wages and salaries. The worth of work became determined by its exchange value, i.e., what it would bring in the marketplace. Hence "wage work" become highly visible and highly valued. Domestic work, or family work, on the other hand had relatively little exchange value even though it had high use value; that is, the goods and services produced in the household are useful, even, to the functioning of family systems (Slaugh, 1982, pp. 1-2). Work in the family system is unpaid work generally performed by family members in the home; hence, it is private, invisible, rooted in intimate and intense relation-

ships. It is little understood nor recognized as "real work" but rather is seen as a "labor of love" worthwhile for the persons who reap its benefits directly but of limited economic value in the world outside the family (Luxton, 1980). Advances in technology, particularly mass production of food and clothing and household equipment, are perceived to have taken over many of the productive functions of the household and/or to have reduced the labor involved in housework to a bare minimum requiring very limited skills.

Those who predict the demise of the family base their assertions on the assumption that all family production and processes are currently monetized and can be purchased in the market place: meals, child care, clothing, sex, counseling, maintenance of house (housework), financial management and shopping services. Hence, work in the home is not economically important nor highly valued.

The Reality. Earned wages and salaries are essential for families to maintain themselves in a highly technical and industrialized society for there are many goods and services families can no longer easily produce, e.g., medical, legal and educational services, fossil fuel energy. However, money itself will not shelter, clothe, feed a family nor nurture family members. Further, labor must be used to transform money into consumable forms: cooked meals, clean clothes, orderly and healthy living environments, care of children, the ill or the handicapped, resolving conflicts to reduce tension or stress. Most of these transformation processes occur in the home and are carried out in large measure by women (Juster et al, 1980). Work does occur in the family, work that is essential to family functioning as well as to the efficient functioning of the paid work system. Work in the family consists of a set of interdependent tasks and processes which are difficult to break down into separate tasks and to assess in terms of time and energy expended. This work consists generally of

1. housework essential to maintaining the house and serving family members—cooking, cleaning, laundry, physical care of children, the sick and the handicapped,
2. child rearing—teaching children skills of decision-making, developing values and attitudes, helping them learn to communicate and build positive interpersonal relationships,
3. transformation of wages and salaries into goods and services for household use: money management, shopping and
4. reproducing labor power—bearing children for future labor replacements, managing tensions, providing essential services so workers can return to the workplace refreshed and revitalized.

These processes and tasks are difficult to purchase for they require both production time and labor time. Production time is a measure of the duration of a task from start to finish; labor time is a measure of the specific period in which the worker is actually expending energy (Luxton, 1980, p. 18). For example the production time for a meal may cover 10 hours counting time from grocery shopping to the table; actual labor time may be less than 2 hours. Much of family work involves production time and standby time. Physical care of children can be measured in labor time, but, someone needs to be available the clock around. Time spent in developing skills and attitudes may be done while meals are being prepared or housework is being done. The work is fragmented and complex requiring skills of integration. To carry out family work effectively requires being attuned to changing needs and wants of family members who differ in age and gender, and who are themselves constantly growing and changing so routine procedures for tasks and processes are difficult or impossible to reduce to a regular or simple procedure. Family work, usually defined as housework, provides the basis for the social relations of family members. It becomes the vehicle by which family workers express affection and love, develop skills, values and attitudes in one another, resolve conflicts and reduce stress. The larger social order, including the marketplace, could not function, for example, if trust were not developed. We learn to trust one another initially in the family. Later, we transfer this trust to other systems. We trust the pilot to operate the airplane and get us safely to our destination. We trust that a food product is free of contamination and safe to consume (Bivens, 1976). What is invisible, and does not disappear and cannot be purchased, is the work involved in general over-all management of the household. It is this process of management that ties together the multiple facets of family life and wage earning life into an integrated, whole, continuous lifestyle. It takes skill to juggle these components, to exercise a modicum of control over the family's destiny, to know what needs to be done and what can be left undone. Good management results in harmonious, effective family living and productive workers; poor management or no management creates chaos.

If a monetary value could be placed on family work, it would be a major component of the Gross National Product. Recently economists and home economists have attempted to measure the worth of family work. Depending on the measurement technique used, family work has been estimated to equal 44 percent of the GNP in 1976 "and for women, who account for most housework, its value is roughly double their reported money earning" (Peskin, 1981, p. 37).

Although the reality is that family work has high economic value, it is still perceived as having little value and low-esteem. This may be due in part to the fact that it is private and thus invisible or that people believe technology has taken over most of the tasks and household equipment has freed the homemaker from most work. Or it could be that the functions that remain in the family such as child rearing and cooking are creative hence pleasurable, leisure activities or because family work is done primarily by women. There is some anthropological and sociological evidence that when work is done by men it has higher economic value and is held in higher esteem. Although there has been some movement of males into family work, women continue to be the primary workers whether they are employed or not employed. Full-time homemakers, women, spend about 9.6 hours each day in family work, their husbands about 1.5 hours per day while employed women spend about 4.3 hours per day in family work, their husbands about 1 hour. Employed women double their hours of

family work on their days off work, as do their husbands (Luxton, 1980, p. 179). Contrary to the rhetoric of shared homemaking, the bulk of family work is done by women; however, younger men are becoming more involved, especially in child rearing and gourmet cooking.

The reality is that technology has reduced the labor but not the time spent in family work. In fact, technology has made housework more complex and has removed some of the control over work that homemakers once had. For example, household equipment requires skilled mechanics when breakdowns occur; processed foods contain ingredients that may be harmful to family health. Scientific evidence is controversial relative to the effects of additives or particular foods on health; hence, the decision-making becomes more complex.

It is in this area of decision-making and management that more emphasis can be made. The homeworker today needs to learn how to manage the demands created by both work and family systems which compete for physical and emotional energy. As more adults in our society enter the paid work force, the need of these skills increase.

Myth and Reality No. IV

The Myth. Management in the family system is the same as management in the work system.

A major spin-off of the industrial revolution which resulted from major breakthroughs in science and technology was the development of management as an area of study with that of developing efficient procedures for work. The early home economists were scientists. They were instrumental in making housework and family living scientific. In fact, because of its scientific rootings, home economics, like agriculture and engineering, became a focus of the land-grant colleges, which were designed to improve everyday living in factories, farms, and homes. Home economists such as Bevier at University of Illinois, Talbot at University of Chicago, Van Rensselaer and Rose at Cornell, and Richards at Massachusetts Institute of Technology wrote, taught and conducted research that led to the "scientification" of family work. In particular their contributions in areas of household management, family economics, foods and nutrition, housing and sanitation were instrumental in improving everyday living.

At about this same time there was a concerted effort to make the workplace more efficient and productive. "Scientific management" was born through the efforts of engineers such as Fredrickson, Gilbreth and others. Their work in analyzing time and motion expended in performing specific tasks improved performance standards and reduced time and effort in task performance, thus improving efficiency and reducing costs in the workplace. Through the efforts of their wives, e.g., Lillian Gilbreth, this work orientation was transported to the household. Home economists bought into this orientation and home management specialists particularly used the same methods of analysis and procedures for improving household tasks as those used in the workplace. Kanter (1977a, p. 73) notes that:

> Around the turn of the century, the home economics movement and feminist critics argued for the "rationalization" of domestic labor, using examples of the efficiencies generated in industry. The words *science* and *economics* were used frequently and analogies drawn to the factory.

Much of this orientation persists into 1980's and can be noted in ways that are used to access the economic worth of housewives and prevailing perceptions of home management.

The Reality. Family work is not identical to paid work. its primary goals are essentially different. The major goal of the work system is production of goods and services in the most efficient manner so that a profit can be realized. The goal of the family is growth and development of family members and the development of intimate interpersonal relations. The household is private and particularistic while the workplace is public and universal. Products developed in the workplace serve a general public while the household serves particular persons. Tasks in the workplace can be standardized for they remain the same; tasks in the household are difficult to standardize because the needs and wants of family members are constantly changing. Work in the workplace is assigned to particular individuals who can become proficient in its performance; work in family is done by family members who differ in competence. Family work is often used as the context for developing skills, values and attitudes of family members especially children; hence, the major "output" of family work may not be the product but human development; paid work is product- rather person-oriented. In the work system the manager and the worker are different persons, their roles and functions are clearly defined. Not so in the family system, worker and manager are the same person. Management styles in the family are different from prevailing management styles in the work system. Work system management tends to be analytical, rational, quantitative, based on a hierarchy of authority and control, direct and aggressive in pursuit of organization goals. Family managers tend to be intuitive, synthesizing and qualitative in their thinking. They are also contextual, seeing the whole picture rather than a given task.

Given the difference in goals and in orientations, management in the family system becomes basically different from that of the workplace.

IMPLICATIONS FOR HOME ECONOMICS EDUCATORS.

We have organized what we believe are ways in which home economics educators can help family members and policy makers in the workplace and in government understand and manage the interactions between the work and family system around three systems of action: technical or instrumental, communicative, and emancipatory. Technical action has a positivistic perspective, its rules for action are prescriptive and procedural: to accomplish x, do y. Communicative action has an interpretive perspective, its rules for action are focused toward discovery of meanings and social values derived from interactions of persons through language and nonverbal symbols. Emancipatory action has a critical orientation, its rules of action are focused on bringing about personal, family/or social change through con-

sciousness-raising and reflection; the change should result in freedom, autonomy and justice (Brown and Paolucci, 1979). We assume that all three systems of action are essential to educational programs geared toward understanding and enhancing work and family systems.

Technical Action. Home economists have a long tradition of helping persons to find appropriate means for reaching goals and for assisting family members learning "how to", for example, prepare nutritious meals, manage time, energy and money, shop wisely, and rear children. They need to continue to provide information that is research-based for helping family members to make and implement decisions that are related to the maintenance functions of family living. In addition, programs must continue to include a skill orientation and opportunities for students to practice these skills. The skills need to encompass those that are manipulative as well as problem solving in nature. The major thrust needs to be that of including males as well as females in these programs and a wider span of age groups. For example, programs that reach boys and girls in middle school are particularly important since an increasing number of these children will be in single-parent or dual-earner families and they will be expected to do a considerable amount of family work as more and more women enter the work system. It becomes increasingly important that more men enter the family work system if there is to be equity and opportunity for both sexes to reach their human potential. Men are more likely to share rather than merely "help with" housework if they feel competent. The current interest in household production and the availability of "how to" books is an indicator of the interest in technical or instrumental action. Home economists who are knowledgeable about the broad range of skills essential to family functioning and can help others to see the interdependence of these functions can be especially helpful in this area. Family work is complex and does require skills that must be learned.

Communicative Action. Both the family system and the work system carry within them a set of embedded assumptions and values that structure the relationships within these systems and give meaning and value to the persons involved. Luxton (1980, p. 84) notes that "the money form of wages has embedded in it a number of social relations. In the man it represents his labour. For both husband and wife it represents their potential subsistence. For her it represents her powerlessness and dependency. As a result, women and men come together from different perspectives and understandings. The result is potentially explosive for both of them." These invisible values and norms played out in language and symbols (verbal and non-verbal behavior) communicate meaning that shapes the relationships between persons in both systems. This is but one illustration of communication as a carrier of values and shaper of relationships. Home economists need to place greater emphasis on helping their clients to understand better the formation and development of values and the role of values in shaping everyday behavior in both family and work systems. Home economists need to understand and teach others to view values as open to rational formulation and examination through open discourse about "what ought one to do" in a given situation. Communication is more than information giving; it is shared meaning. Helping persons build positive interpersonal relationships goes beyond instrumental and technical action. It requires understanding and open and free discussion to arrive at shared meaning. It is more than value clarification; it moves to value commitment. Home economists are just beginning to become competent in this area, and the same is true for other family professionals. Current interests in self-help, marital enrichment and parent education programs testify to a recognition on the part of family members of a need to improve communicative interaction. (See Habermas, 1979 and Kantor Lehr, 1975 for further discussion of strategies for taking communicative action).

Emancipatory Action. If the work and family systems are to be involved in the transformation of both the workplace and the society toward a more humane and just ethos, persons must learn how to help themselves to discover their oppressions, identify their own myths and ideologies, study and analyze the situations in which they find themselves and take political action to bring about change. This educative process is non-formal in nature and requires new ways of learning. It is perhaps best illustrated in the work of Illich (1981), Freire (1972), Fay (1977) and Laing (1969). Emancipatory action requires that one critique social conditions in terms of identifying those conditions which can be changed in order to eliminate certain frustrations and sufferings which humans are experiencing. Perhaps the best illustration of emancipatory action can be seen in the evolution of perspectives that have occurred among feminists as they have examined women's roles, housework and the family. The aim of emancipatory action is "to assist humans in the process of social and self formation; its knowledge is used to help persons change themselves by increasing their competence to make informed and rational choices and to take responsible action" (Paolucci and Bubolz, 1980, p. 4). Most home economists have not been involved in political action aimed at transforming society and/or families. The early home economists who were a part of the feminist movement or saw themselves as social reformers did take emancipatory action. More recently since the 11th Lake Placid Conference held in 1973, the American Home Economics Association has been actively involved in the formation of government policy that affects families. Home economists need to help family members to become more involved in formulating those policies that shape their work and family lifestyles. To take emancipatory action will require that persons learn to recognize and understand their needs and sufferings through consciousness-raising that unveils myths and ideologies, e.g., men need to understand the worlds of family and work from a feminine perspective as women need to see these worlds from a male perspective. Necessary, too, will be the identification of systems and patterns of relationships and conditions which shape human action and the unanticipated consequences of these actions.

The time has come for persons involved in work and family systems to formulate policies and ways of living that will enhance both, for both are essential to the survival of human kind. The 1980's are a time of transition

and transformation toward a new social ethic. The balance of power between the sexes is shifting as increased numbers of women work outside the home for economic and personal fulfillment reasons. Men are beginning to recognize that their identity and self-fulfillment are not being realized primarily through the work system and are turning to familial groupings. As inflation gets worse and productivity in the workplace is lowered, as jobs become scarcer and more persons need and want to work, the problems of "living and working, on old or new terms of equality and family, individuality and intimacy, fulfillment and responsibility, will become more urgent, cutting across lines of generation, class and previous political differences" (Friedan, 1981, p. 219).

Home economics educators can be at the forefront of the movement in helping others in rethinking work and family life. Yankelovich (1981, p. 85) foresees that Americans are rethinking work and family systems and evolving toward a new social ethic that is developing around "two kinds of commitment: forming closer and deeper personal relationships, and trading some instrumental values for sacred/expressive ones." The world of family is one of sacred/expressive commitment; the world of work is one of instrumental commitment. We are beginning to recognize the limits of instrumental reason (asking what is something good for) and are seeking for values that view persons and objects as valued for themselves apart from their instrumental use—values which help us anchor the technology and rationalism of the work system and economy. The new social ethic that converts work and family life is demanding that people form commitments that advance the well-being of society as well as self. For this to occur it is necessary that they receive

> . . . clear and distinct signals from the larger society—from political leadership, the mass media, institutional leadership (in business, religion, education and labor, from artists and scientists, from the intellectual community), and from an informal interchange of views with friends and neighbors. The signals should convey the terms of the new giving/getting compact, communicating . . . that we have now entered a new age, offering new opportunities, trade-offs, choices, and constraints. The signals must permit people to understand how they can link their aspirations to the new economic realities" (Yankelovich, 1981, p. 89).

The linking of work and family systems is central to developing this new social ethic. Home economics educators have the competencies essential to helping them in family and work systems to understand their roles in moving society toward this social ethic that will make the post-industrial society a fit place for human beings to live together in harmony, with dignity and hope.

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Questions and Comments From The Discussion Groups

The Conference was divided into eight discussion groups which met four times for about an hour to analyze and react to the speakers' presentations, to make recommendations, to raise questions, or to use the time in whatever way they felt would be most valuable. Leaders and recorders are listed on the inside front cover.

The following is presented not as a summary of these group discussions but as some of the highlights that a person moving from group to group might have picked up. They provide food for thought and action for home economics educators.

Questions:

1. Why don't we teach economy and recycling and be a model of conservation? Do we lack a conservation ethic and an understanding of the ecological system and its interrelationships?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of cottage industries for the family, for society? If Home Economics promotes them, will we be reinforcing the concept of "women's place is in the home"? Who should be involved and who should decide?
3. Why don't we do a better job of public relations?
4. How can home economists change the system while trying to fit into the system?
5. Why do we place a higher value on economic benefits than on environmental effects?
6. Why do we value materialism and instant gratification and focus on me-ism so much? Do our materialistic life styles keep us in situations we don't really like?
7. Which Home Economics content is most critical to meet students' needs? How can we revise and condense our courses?
8. Is our teaching in line with our mission as home economists?
9. How can we increase our visibility on campus or in our school?
10. Can power be defined in terms of various kinds of resources?
11. Can our economy afford unemployed women?
12. How can we develop "old girl networks" for home economists?
13. What role can Home Economics play in the problem of constantly rising expectations?
14. How can we (the whole society) avoid wasting our resources?
15. Why don't we see as much practice of policy-influencing-skills as we we see of skills in food preparation and clothing construction in our professional preparation? We need opportunity to observe and to practice these skills.
16. How can we promote awareness among employers that homemaking competencies carry over into the world of work?
17. How can we get rid of our image as promoters of high level consumption and become known as facilitators in the development of a high quality of life as we *conserve* resources?
18. What do home economists do that is so great? Who is calling the home economist for help with their problems?
19. Are students viewing home economics as a total field or as their own specialization?
20. Do we really value homemaking?

Thoughts, comments, and recommendations:

1. We need research on why *people* (not women and men) work and what the impact on families is.
2. The goal of home economics is to improve the quality of life. Our "end products" should be optimum development for all and the preservation of the environment.
3. We need to define or clarify the value of *homemaking*.
4. We need to focus more on entrepreneurship.
5. Networking and mentoring could be of benefit to home economists and to women.
6. We should communicate with other people besides home economists.
7. We need home economists with

   (a) entrepreneurship skills
   (b) "people" skills
   (c) problem solving skills
   (d) "possibility-thinking" skills
   (e) risk-taking skills
   (f) management skills (including the management of change)
   (g) writing and speaking skills
   (h) critical thinking skills
   (i) networking skills

8. We need to change laws which do not support energy conservation.
9. In the future our time may not be structured as much, we may be more self-directed and work at home more, and neighborhoods may become more important.
10. The coming age will be one of limited resources and reallocation of resources. We need to get our ship in order. If we can't prove our worth, our programs will disappear.
11. We need to overcome our problem of "turf-dom".
12. Alumni(ae) should be kept abreast of new developments.
13. Advisory committees could be used more effectively.
14. Time spent in labor intensive activities cannot be spent in intellectual, creative ways. (But the question could be raised as to whether some kinds of labor permit "mind activities" apart from the labor.)
15. Secondary students need help in focusing on the positive aspects of work and in looking at the environment and its relation to home and work.
16. Students of professional Home Economics need to learn assertiveness and strategies to secure and hold positions as well as the content of Home Economics.
17. I hope we don't overlook full time homemakers and the adjustments to be made.

18. We need to keep in mind that all decisions are not rational and must learn to be a part of the decision-making process.
19. Women need to develop their own models of leadership and success that capitalize on their own characteristics and strengths.
20. Value formation begins at home.
21. Students need more guidance in learning to "find out" rather than in learning facts.
22. We need more home economists who are "movers and shakers", willing to take risks.
23. We need to improve our interpersonal skills and our counseling techniques.
24. Firm and positive commitment as to who we are and what we do can give strength and leverage when we are working with those who determine public policy.
25. Basic information on the interrelationships between work life and family life which ought to be incorporated into existing courses in Home Economics includes:
    (a) marriage laws, marital rights and legal obligations of spouses
    (b) values clarification and decision making process regarding the achievement of job success
    (c) the concerns of single adults
    (d) special problems of single parents
    (e) developmental stages in family life and careers
    (f) nature of societal change
26. Students need to develop abilities to think creatively and solve problems using home economics content.
27. Home economists may be crusaders for a particular area or problem, go out and raise the consciousness of people and then turn the subject over to others to solve. This can be strength or a weakness. This could be why we are losing programs and why clients become confused. We deal with current problems and we keep changing.

Seminal Ideas The Listening Panel Heard

The Listening Panel (members listed on the inside front cover) was given the task of listening throughout the conference—during speakers' presentations, coffee breaks, discussion groups, mealtimes, "after hours," even in the rest rooms—for seminal ideas to share. The following are some of those reported at the final session and in writing to the Conference Director.

1. We and our students need to be proactive rather than reactive. We need to let others know what we have to offer, to help our students and ourselves in this time of transition, to influence legislation. All home economists need to be able to "read" the family environment, to assess the needs of the family, and to help them attain their collective and individual goals, e.g., a more equalitarian distribution of work in paid employment and in the family.
2. We need improved public relations to make our subject matter and process skills available to other professionals.
3. If we select one issue and really work on it, we are more likely to see results than if we spread ourselves too thinly over many.
4. We need research on the effect of the family on work as well as the effect of work on the family.
5. As one area of the "triangle of self"—personal, family and work—is strengthened, the other two benefit.
6. Homemaking skills that can transfer to the work environment include:
   (a) maintaining physical and mental health
   (b) positive human relationships
   (c) management of time and other resources
   (d) positive work attitudes
   (e) decision making skills
7. Home economists could serve a role in business in the area of family services.
8. As both men and women experience greater satisfactions in choosing their lifestyles and handling dual roles successfully, they will likely become more contented and productive workers.
9. Home economics needs a power base. These questions seem appropriate as we think about this problem and plan for action:
   (a) What is a power base?
   (b) How is a power base developed?
   (c) Is it possible for homemakers or home economists to have a power base if the "commodity" with which they deal is believed to be of little value?
   (d) What is the relationship between the power base one has in the work place and in the home?
   (e) What conditions are created if the power base in the home is significantly greater or lesser than in the work place?
   (f) Can a power base for a profession be developed without a *collective* effort?
10. Home economists should support and practice voluntary simplicity. As people *want* more and more, they begin to describe wants as *needs*. We are not advocating going backward; rather we need to determine our real needs and use appropriate technology to meet them.
11. Home economics should be one of the fields involved in the development and research which David Orr discussed, e.g., in "shortening the pipeline" between where something is produced and where it is used. Could some College of Home Economics be involved in these studies? Who should take the initiative?
12. We need a strong, generalized professional self concept. Questions to think about include:
   (a) How many of us feel second class, defensive, apologetic about our profession? What impact does such a feeling have on a person and on his/her family?
   (b) How often do we, each of us, review the positive aspects, the strengths, the significance of our profession? Our families, our friends, ourselves?
   (c) How do we feel and what do we do about others' lack of understanding of the profession of home economics?
   (d) Do we understand others sufficiently to help them build bridges that tie us together in larger wholes?
   (e) What are we, each of us, doing to initiate projects that increase commitment and build unity? Do we support each other?
   (f) How does my being a home economist help my family to be stronger?
   (g) Do we give adequate attention to ethics and human values, in addition to economics, as we interrelate home and family and make our decisions? What criteria do we use to determine what is relevant and what are the top priorities?
13. We work to prepare people to be homemakers. But do we really respect those who choose that as a full time occupation? Do we think of a homemaker as "a woman who is dependent upon a man"? Do we want our daughters to grow up to be homemakers only? Are we theoretical rather than practicing homemakers? When we bristle at "you're a home economist so you must be a good cook," are we hurting ourselves? If homemaking is our "second job," how can we help people to see that it is still vital and important?
14. Let us focus on the positive aspects of work, the needs of women and of men that work fulfills—social contacts, intellectual stimulation, self-concept enhancement, security of various types, recognition, new knowledge, etc.—and the ways in which family life is enhanced by the work experiences of all members. In this way we may be able to help people handle the dual role as an opportunity rather than a problem, especially for those who have no choice.

CONCURRENT SESSION
Educating For Work And Family: A New Approach to Curriculum

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Presentations at this conference have been exceptional. They have increased our awareness and knowledge of the nature of work and family life. However, few practical applications of this content have been reported. Our current vocational home economics curriculum revision efforts in the Ohio Department of Education have included such an application. We wish to share a potpourri of ideas, thoughts, original research, and outcomes to date in this curriculum building process.

Impact of Work on Family—Ohio Study

A statewide research project in Ohio was conducted to provide data for curriculum development.[1] The first phase of the study was a task analysis of work in the home. The qualitative phase addressed the meaning/significance and the problems/concerns in home and family life.

Included in the study were 200 adults and 80 high school seniors from 40 sites geographically distributed across the state. Participants represented a continuum across age, education, occupation, and urban-rural categories.

The task list data included most of the technical aspects associated with managing resources. The descriptive data, however, pointed to the meanings and value questions which underlie the constant choices one makes when interrelating work and family life and will be reported here.

The constant comparative method was used for analysis of qualitative data in this study. A checklist or questionnaire with categories pre-selected, increases the risk that the responses are structured by the researcher. One of the strengths in qualitative research is that categories or classificatory schemes emerge from the data.

While the study was comprehensive, only those responses to work and family are shared here. Six themes related to the impact of work on the family are identified.

1. Security. Security was defined in the participant's own words as "someone there when you need them." Both adults and students perceived a loss of security for children at home when both parents work.

Concerns were expressed for the quality of day care. One mother observed:

> If a child has to go to day care all day, then something is lost. You miss the first word. Now my kids can come home from school excited and I'm here.

If there were any surprises in the study, it was the fervency and poignancy of the time after school. One of the questions in the study asked respondents to relate significant experiences in their home and family life and the meaning of those experiences. You might expect responses to focus on births, deaths, and marriages, but many recalled as the significant experience in their home and family life this quality of time after school.

> Someone was there after school to talk with. It gave me security.
>
> The idea of Mom being there is reassuring.
>
> I valued my mother being there when I came home after school.
>
> I recall the smell of cookies baking.
>
> When I brought my first instrument home from school, a saxophone, my mother was there. That was important to me.
>
> My mother was always there. I always looked for her. She was glad to see us. You're home safe, away from pressures. Everyone needs to feel as if they belong.

In response to a request to describe the "ideal" family, one student said:

> When you come home from school, one of your parents is home to greet you and ask you how your day went.

Related to this dilemma is the importance of parents attending children's school events, sports activities, and the like. Respondents noted that it is often a problem when parents work swing shifts or commute long distances to work. In response to the question about significant experiences in their family life were these statements:

> My family attended all of my school activities. It gave me a warm good feeling and good memories.
>
> When I was growing up, my parents were always there for me. Whenever I was involved in some things at school or at church they were there watching whatever I was doing, even if it was a wee bit part in a play. I really felt important to the family. I felt a real sense of belonging and loving.

[1] Kister, J. "An Empirical/Interpretive Perspective of Home and Family Life: An Application of the Metascientific Theory of Jurgen Habermas." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Ohio State University, 1981.

Some students noted logistically that they are unable to participate in activities if their parents are not home to provide transportation.

The extreme dimension of this problem was represented as neglect. Both students and adults referred to delinquency, and problems with drugs, sex, and alcohol as manifestations of lack of supervision by working parents. Commented one student:

> There is a lack of security in many homes. Kids are afraid to go home with their problems for fear no one there will care or listen.

In general, there was concern for the quality of life in families when both parents work.

2. Togetherness. Work schedules and pressures from the work place were viewed as a major contributor to the decline in family unity.

> My father worked 98 hours per week when I was growing up and my mother was away from home working too. My father seemed like a stranger living in our house. It helped me make the decision that I would not be a stranger to my children.

> My parents work outside the home now and no one seems to have time to talk.

> Because of work schedules, people don't get to enjoy each other or the children. The children are given *things*, but they lack security. Sometimes they seem lost.

> My father is away too much, doesn't spend time with his family, so the children sometimes feel he just doesn't care.

In reference to the last quote, it is entirely possible that there is no option for this father if he is to support his family at a minimal subsistence level, but the point remains that this perception of the child is very real. He feels this loss of time with his father keenly.

In response to an imagery question asking for a mental picture of "family" the most overwhelming response was a picture of the family gathered around the dinner table. Others lamented that rarely is their family able to gather together for dinner and they miss sharing the significant events of the day with each other. One student put it this way:

> Children come home and pop something into a microwave oven and eat in ten minutes. This cancels your dining room idea.

3. Stress. A common theme was that "stress on jobs causes fighting in families." Students shared:

> When both parents work to support a family there's sometimes a lot of tension and a lot of arguing. A father may have to work at night so the kids grow up hardly knowing him.

> Job layoffs upset the whole family.

> If the parent isn't able to find a job, frustrations are usually taken out on the kids.

The complexity of the problem is illustrated by this man:

> Because people can't get a job, they come home angry, go out and drink, and come home angry again. I've seen battered women and children. Not everyone has the ability to cope with stress.

The configuration of problems that relates jobs and families are summarized by this woman who lives in a Midwest industrial city suffering from unemployment in the steel mills.

> The biggest problem is the loss of jobs due to the mills slowing down. The area depends a lot on the steel mills. It is affecting families because men feel they aren't fulfilling their roles. Financial difficulties are causing marital problems. Men have too much time on their hands and turn to alcohol—a major concern in our area. This sometimes results in abuse to the family.

Job relocations result in problems for children in changing schools. A student commented:

> We had to go to the city for a job and move our family from the small town where we've always lived. It was hard.

One parent brought up yet another problem:

> Eighteen year olds can't find jobs. They are staying in the parental home and there are conflicts.

A student noted:

> It can be a problem when both parents work. Parents are ill trained to raise kids in a complex world. Then they aren't even around to help their kids.

4. Management. The response, "women feel pressure to work, then feel pressure of the dual role—the homemaker and the working wife," seemed to summarize this dilemma. Another woman referred to the management problems as "trying to live up to a super-mom image."

One young working mother observed:

> Time management is a weak point in our family and I suppose the reason is that we are so busy with school, work, clubs, and sports that we don't have the *time* to manage it. Scheduling time together as a family is difficult. When work crowds family time, family problems are created.

Said another working mother:

> When you get home from work, the kids want to tell you about everything that's happened and your tired and don't want to hear about it right now.

The phenomenon of working mothers was viewed as a "mixed blessing." One adult recognized that work gives women a sense of accomplishment, but noted that it has

the potential of being a negative factor. This occurs when the mother is unable to give the intangibles—love, help, attention, and support when she is home.

5. *Roles.* Most of the working women assumed responsibility for the major share of the household work. Not surprisingly, a number of women referred to the problems of getting help from their family, spouses and children. Statistics from numerous research studies clearly support this finding.

6. *Balancing Work and Family.* Respondents pointed to the relationship between work and family:

> If you're not happy with work, it's hard to be happy at home.

> Sometimes a job will interfere with family life because the job becomes so important to a person they forget about their family.

One adult commented that with all of the competition to move up in the world, people aren't content where they are, so they work harder to achieve more, and more time is spent worrying about their job.

A student said:

> Parents are worried if they can't give you enough to make you happy. And they work harder and their jobs make them unhappy.

Another student questioned why parents come home from work mad and upset.

Referring to the pressures of earning a living, one man observed that after you have pursued and done all that you feel is necessary to cope with life today, you feel empty and without meaning. He concluded that for him, family gives meaning to his life.

A business executive had this to say in response to question about good or "ideal" family life.

> Career needs have to be considered, but should not be your first priority. You have to know your first priority is with your own family, not career. Some younger men put their careers first and families suffer.

It was not the intent of this research to study work and family, but rather to examine the phenomenon of family. In doing so, conflict between work and family emerged as a dominant theme.

Impact of Family on Work—Ohio Study

A research study was supported by the Vocational Home Economics Section, Ohio Department of Education, to investigate the impact of the family upon the work world. Laura Boyd, graduate student at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio interviewed 35 personnel directors randomly selected from the Dayton, Ohio, Industrial Directory. An attempt was made to determine: employee behaviors affected by the employee's home lives, company policies and services initiated because of employee's family and home lives, and the effects of different family life stages on work. A report of this study, "Families and Work: Another Perspective" appears in the March/April 1982 issue of *Illinois Teacher*.

The greatest home life factor mentioned by personnel directors was that of absenteeism and in general, the time needed away from work. Vacations, personal and family leave time, and benefits were the most common company policies and services provided. None of the organizations provided day care, only five had maternity leave policies, and only two had flex time. Employees with pre-school and school-age children and single persons were the life cycle stages considered to have most effect on work.

Consideration should be given to the fact that absenteeism may have been reported because of its ease of measurement and since interviewees were personnel directors. Productivity, for example, would be less easily measured and would more likely be reported by supervisors or persons other than personnel directors.

It is clear that one cannot determine from this study the directional effects of the work and family worlds. The study has, along with other research, generated interest and new perspectives related to curriculum content needs for Vocational Home Economics.

Integral Nature of Work and Family

A review of literature on work and family interrelations reflects an inequality in direction of research. Most data indicate a relationship only or show the effects of the work world upon the family.[2] Little effort has been made to study the family as an independent variable rather than the dependent variable. Obviously, strong and concrete data to support the effect of family upon work would be beneficial to Vocational Home Economics.

For the moment let us relax our search for concrete data and begin to look at the work/family interface from a wider angle. We know that historically the work world and the family world were not physically or spatially separate. In less developed countries today we see little distinction between home and work place. The "fit" of work and family seems to go even beyond spatial concerns. More simple and basic social organizations have "activities in both spheres being subject to the same overarching cultural beliefs and values. The significance of an event or object in one sphere is comprehensible only with reference to the other sphere as well."[3]

Consider these capsules of families of the past:

> An 1890's family clustered about the kitchen table wraps paper flowers to sell in the streets.

The question of whether this is work affecting family or family affecting work would be imperceptible to these people.

> Black family members in the early 1900's stand beside their cabin and surrounding vegetable gardens, hoes and rakes in hand.

> A western farm family of the 1920's stands before a sod house as the last piece of roof is put in place.

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[2]Portner, J. *Impacts of Work on the Family.* Minnesota Council on Family Relations: Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1978.

[3]Rapoport & Rapoport. "Work and Family in Contemporary Society." *American Sociological Review,* 30 (June, 1965), 382-3.

These families would have no way to distinguish the work world from the family world.

In present day underdeveloped countries, the interplay of work and family can also be seen.

> A young South American shepherd displays tears as he looks at six of his sheep killed by a careening auto. This loss will impact heavily on his family's small flock which comprises a major portion of their food and income.

Shall we ask this boy if this is an example of work affecting family or family affecting work?

> A modern Israeli family works in a large garden. Parents and a preschooler pick vegetables while a toddler plays in a rolling playpen especially designed to fit between the vegetable rows.

This modern kubbutz family clearly shows a blending of work and family worlds.

> A family of parents and three teenage children sell truck loads of pumpkins and squash at the roadside near their family farmhouse.

> A father and children rake walnuts in the family operated commercial walnut grove.

These farm families might have difficulty making distinctions between the work world and family world.

It is clear in early and more primitive times, in current underdeveloped cultures, in special work/family situations that our attempt to separate the work and family worlds may be an academic venture. Thus, the search for a specific cause and effect may be a moot point. Work and family worlds seem to be a difficult to entangle eternity!

From a personal basis also we find it hard to make clear cut distinctions between these two worlds or to question the reality of interrelated effects. Many of us who left families early Sunday morning to attend this conference can attest to family being affected by our work life. A sick child or spouse, family discord, an ailing relative, or even an awaited call from the veterinarian or plumber give us personal evidence of the work world getting the short end of the stick, or at least less than full attention and productivity. Likewise, positive, supportive situations in the home seem to allow for greater smoothness in the work place. We intuitively *know* that one hand washes or soils the other.

The concern to separate the family/work worlds might at this time be more realistically altered to the concern for lessening frustrations within the interplay of these two worlds. Our focus might better be upon the integral nature of work and family or, as Kinsey Green indicated, "the goodness of fit" between the two structures.

Rationale for Curriculum Decision

Vocational home economics educators are currently engaged in examining the interrelationships of work and family life. Some of these data have been presented in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education for reauthorization of the Vocational Education Act. The Home Economics Coalition statement gives further support:

> Recognition of the relationship of well-ordered quality home and family life to productive satisfying work life is implicit, if not explicit, in the history of vocational education legislation.[4]

In making a curricular decision in Ohio, we considered:

- the research on effects of work on Ohio families
- the research on effects of family on the work place
- the state of the art in the study of the interrelationship of work life and family life
- currents of thinking in vocational home economics

Given these factors, in Ohio we concluded that the interrelationship of work and family is a concern of such magnitude that it warrants a separate curricular content area.

Curriculum Development—Work/Family

The organizers for the Ohio curriculum are perennial problems defined as questions which recur over time and are faced by each generation. The interrelationship of work and family life is one of the six perennial problems (Figure A).

Since we are currently engaged in the curriculum process, content is not fully developed. Using research and current writings in the field, we have tentatively identified major practical problems and more specific content.

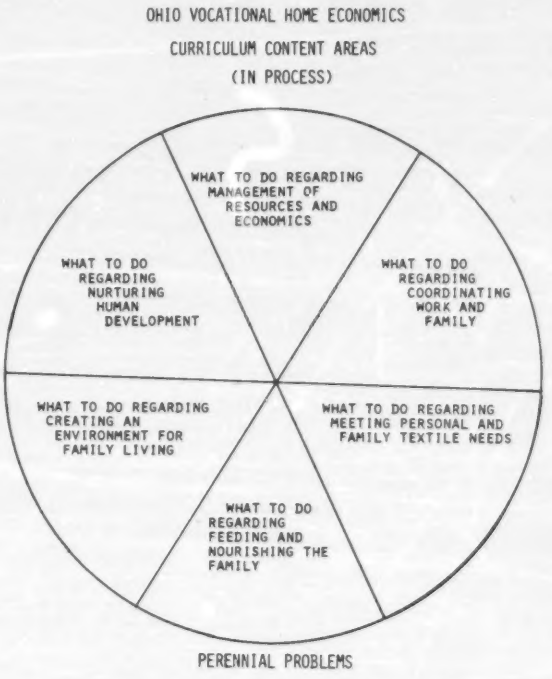
OHIO VOCATIONAL HOME ECONOMICS
CURRICULUM CONTENT AREAS
(IN PROCESS)
WHAT TO DO REGARDING MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES AND ECONOMICS
WHAT TO DO REGARDING COORDINATING WORK AND FAMILY
WHAT TO DO REGARDING NURTURING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
WHAT TO DO REGARDING CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT FOR FAMILY LIVING
WHAT TO DO REGARDING MEETING PERSONAL AND FAMILY TEXTILE NEEDS
WHAT TO DO REGARDING FEEDING AND NOURISHING THE FAMILY
PERENNIAL PROBLEMS

Figure A

[4]Home Economics Coalition. "Position Paper: A United Front for Home Economics." *Vocational Education*, 54 (1979), 51-53.

HABERMAS — METASCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVES			
DIMENSION	EMPIRICAL/ANALYTIC	HERMENEUTIC	CRITICAL
PURPOSE	PREDICT, CONTROL PHENOMENA	AUTHENTIC INTERSUBJECTIVE UNDERSTANDING	FREEDOM FROM FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS, HIDDEN IDEOLOGIES
HOME ECONOMICS KNOWLEDGE	TECHNICAL TASKS	SHARED MEANINGS, RELATIONSHIPS	VALUE QUESTIONS - WHAT SHOULD WE DO? - SOLVED IN ACTION
SYSTEMS OF ACTION	TECHNICAL	COMMUNICATIVE	EMANCIPATIVE

Figure B

Practical Problem:
What to do Regarding Providing an Economic Base

- Meaning of work
- Labor market—realities, demographics
- Human and economic costs of employment/ unemployment
- Career choices
- Employability
- Work ethic
- Economic resource management
- Public policy affecting work/family
- Policies in the work place
- Future work/family perspectives (cottage industries, computers)
- Family role in preparing children for work life

Practical Problem:
What to do Regarding Achieving a Balance in the Family and Career Life Cycle

- Historical perspective—integral nature of work/family life
- Self/family formation through interrelating family/work
- Human and economic costs of work/family alternatives
- Role expectations
- Work/family lifecycle integration
- Family composition—fertility choices, child spacing
- Work/parenting coordination and conflicts
- Work/family stress
- Mobility and work
- Support systems
- Management skills related to work/family life
- Work/family commitments

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used to give structure to the content of work and family interrelationships is based on the work of Jurgen Habermas[5] (Figure B).

The empirical/analytical dimension represents facts or knowledge statements that can be used to predict or control phenomena. Technical facts are the knowledge produced. The hermeneutic (interpretive or communicative) dimension represents understanding that is intersubjective. Shared meanings and relationships are the knowledge produced. The critical dimension represents emancipative thinking to bring about freedom from false and mistaken ideologies. Value questions that can be solved in action are in the produced knowledge.

Though this framework is not unique to work/family relationships, it lends itself to the many value decisions inherent in the work/family realm. We believe that students need not only factual knowledge, but also the abilities to explore meanings and make ethical judgments for the common good in work life and family life. For example, a teacher might reflect the empirical/analytical dimension by asking "What percent of women are working in our society?" The hermeneutic dimension could be addressed by asking students why people work and the meanings given to work life. The emancipative perspective could be reflected by having students analyze the inequities of payment for comparable work by men and women and the effect of these inequities upon society. All three levels of knowledge are important, yet it seems that home economics has a history of stressing the technical level of knowledge at the expense of the emancipative level.

Summary

Our current engagement in curriculum development for secondary vocational home economics programs in Ohio led us to the burgeoning literature and to this conference on the interrelationships of work life and family life. What we have shared with you are Ohio's research and development efforts in work/family relationships, translating theory into practice. Our hope is to:

- help students develop necessary skills for managing family life and work life.
- create heightened awareness of the meaning of family life and work life.
- help students make value decisions based on moral and ethical judgments when solving practical problems in interrelating family life and work life.

[5]Habermas, J. *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

CONCURRENT SESSION
"The People Program"
(A New Approach in Parenting Education)

Bart Ashley
State Child Development Specialist
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Frankfort, Kentucky

A. Program Development

(1) The "People Program" was designed by Joe Pergola (Mammoth Cave Area Family Life Specialist) and me to bring child care and parenting information to employed parents (especially employed mothers) at their job locations. Focusing on factories which employ a large percentage of women, a series of six (15 minute) programs on parenting is presented during a portion of their lunch break. The aims of the program are to: reduce some of the anxiety and guilt often experienced by women who work outside their homes, provide practical skills which will assist them in their roles as parents, provide social support for the employed mother, strengthen the relationship between family members, and provide access to Extension information for those clientele unable to attend traditional Extension programs.

(2) The program is being encouraged statewide. Thus far, it has been conducted in fourteen (14) counties with reported Kemis[1] contacts of over 4,000. The Energy Specialist (University of Kentucky) has developed a series (modeled after this technique) to teach energy saving methods and Economic and Management Specialists (University of Kentucky-Kentucky State University) have also begun preparation on a budgeting program using this technique. Personnel in several other areas have also become interested in this method.

B. Program Implementation

(1) Companies employing a large percentage of women were contacted to discuss the feasibility of such a program. Upon acceptance, announcements concerning the program were distributed to employees. Wall posters were also used to illustrate topics to be discussed, as well as time and place of sessions. The teaching technique used consisted of 15 minute lecture presentations with posters illustrating primary discussion points. Printed subject materials were distributed following the presentations.

(2) While "lunch and learn" type programs have been conducted on a limited scale in the past, this is the first time a major effort has been designed for implementation at worksites (factories, hospitals, government offices).

(3) Evaluation components consisted of:

- Employee pre-test
- Management pre-survey
- Employee post-test
- Employee evaluation (teaching technique)
- Management post-survey
- Employee 3-month follow-up

C. Program Impact

(1) Kemis contacts through the programs have totaled slightly over 4,000. Majority of clientele were blue-collar, middle class, female employees. A small number of management and clerical staff were also in attendance (less than 100). Twenty (20) companies have participated.

(2) Economic and/or social impact.

- Participants were able to save money by many of the play materials recommended in the program.
- By becoming more aware of the day care services available in the community, participants can be more selective in purchasing the day care services required.
- Feelings of guilt and anxiety associated with working outside the home can be decreased with resulting improved parent-child and familial relationships and interaction.
- Success of program indicates a willingness on part of industry to become involved in social and personal problems of their employees.

(3) Thus far, extension agents and state specialists from nearly forty (40) states have written for information for implementation in their respective locales.

- One of three programs was selected for a ratio tape interview by USDA to be sent across the country. USDA also interviewed an employee of General Electric in Louisville for her reactions to program.

(4) Changes Observed:

- Current analysis of the program indicates an overall positive shift (significant at .02 level) in employees' attitude toward the child care information and techniques recommended in the programs.
- 87% of the employees showed an increased awareness of the concept of total child care.
- 92% of participants expressed a desire for company to provide similar additional programs.
- 80% of management believed that helping employees become more comfortable with child

(continued on bottom of next page)

[1]Kemis is our reporting system that we use. The Department of Agriculture requires extension employees in each state to submit weekly the number of contacts and subject matter topics we reach and teach. It keeps congress apprised of the number of tax paying citiznes we are striving to serve.

CONCURRENT SESSION
Home Economics Educational Dynamics (HEED)

Don Rapp, Ph.D.
Presenter
Florida State University
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The HEED project was created from the confluence of three distinct areas of understanding.

1. Understanding of the nature of childhood growth, and the vital importance of early conditioning on later health and well being.
2. Understanding of the motivational literature and experience in motivating students and general audiences.
3. Experience in the use of cassette tapes to facilitate personal motivation toward health and achievement.

HEED Background and Justification

The high school or middle school teacher is a prime candidate for burnout. The high divorce rate in the general population, the high number of employed mothers, economic fears, international tensions, and much more have brought stress on the family as never before. Students bring all their problems to school. All teachers must deal with these problems in one way or another.

Also, our secondary school organization forces teachers to be thinly spread. Of course, teachers are also people who have families and who themselves are susceptible to the pressures and tensions of life, love, and the pursuit of a living wage. The outcome for many is a sooner-or-later burnout mentality that diminishes personal energy and initiative.

HEED Goals

Considering the approximately 250,000 students who are taught each year by the more than 1500 Florida Home Economics teachers, the following speculation was made. If materials could be formulated that would positively help teachers overcome their present feelings of burnout, and better introduce attitudes which would ward off and prevent burnout, the 250,000 students would obtain more positive teaching and modeling.

HEED Materials

The HEED materials consist of ten motivational, pro-achievement, anti-burnout messages packaged on five audio cassette tapes. Accompanying printed scripts appear in five booklets. Each cassette message is approximately 20 minutes in length.

The booklets are scripts of the audio messages. The format of the scripts is unique. MEANING BURST FORMAT, (author's copyright) is an organizational format which spaces thoughts so as to better assure readability and communication via print. MEANING BURST FORMAT facilitates faster reading. Also, it promises the reader to absorb more deeply the ideas being conveyed.

HEED Content Framework

In searching for a framework for the motivational messages, I considered several useful developmental schemes. I decided that the best among them was the work of Erik H. Erikson, with his eight components of a healthy personality. Since its conception in the late 40's, it has enjoyed continued professional popularity. Also, the HEED materials have theoretically extended the basic thought to adult regrowth, i.e., personally initiated rebirth. The fact that Erikson's scheme was based on the most solid segments of Freud's work, made it a natural for the framework of this basic mental health stimulation for Home Economics teachers in the field.

The eight components of a healthy personality are developmental and thus most appropriate for adults. Many of us have missed crucial childhood growth and development lessons. There is nothing unusual about this; no one is brought up perfectly. Thus, to go on to the next stage of growth, we must at some point remediate those missed lessons. It is much like the child who, of course, can't run until he crawls.

Thus, I chose Erikson's eight as a framework for HEED. As I retiterate them, you may want to think through stated titles on both the positive and negative sides. It is important to know that the so-called negative is just as important as the so-called positive. For instance, it is just as important to mistrust at times, as it is to trust. Genius knows when to trust rightly and when to rightly

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(continued from page 59)

care arrangements would result in a more stable, dependable employee.

- 85% of management surveyed believed program strengthened the relationship between company and employees.
- Several agents reported employees coming to county office for additional materials following the factory programs. (This represented their first visit to the local office.)
- Majority of factory management requested additional programs be planned for their employees using this technique.

D. Program Expanded

The success of the People Program has clearly demonstrated the feasibility and industrial acceptance of such an effort. Recently a follow-up series on parent-teen relationships has been developed complete with fifteen-minute scripts, wall posters, lesson guides and teaching posters. We expect the same interest as we've received from the initial program.

mistrust. This genius trait is available to all under good guidance and continued practice.

Introduction
1. Trust vs Mistrust
2. Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt
3. Industry vs Inferiority
4. Initiative vs Guilt
5. Identity vs Role Diffusion
6. Generativity vs Stagnation
7. Integrity vs Despair Follow Through

Positive Mental Attitude

Motivation for greater family health, personal betterment, and professional achievement is epitomized in what the motivational literature calls a Positive Mental Attitude (PMA). Your attitude and how you interpret the life events around you makes a world of difference in how you respond to life, both mentally and physically.

There is a difference between a gas tank that is half empty and one that is half full. For instance, can you imagine the number of lemons that were tossed out because they were interpreted only as sour and bitter. One day someone with a PMS put sugar with lemons and made lemonade. All life situations can be made into lemonade if the person searches for the proper mixture of this and that, which renders a useful product or attitude.

HEED Target

Attitudes are the target of the HEED materials. If just one quote, story, metaphor, or bit of enthusiasm in my voice, can prod a listener to change a negative or inefficient attitude ever so slightly toward a more positive stance, the teacher or supervisor will be personally and professionally benefited.

HEED Triangle

The HEED materials work in three dimensions at once. Picture a triangle with three points. At one point is the professional part of the teacher's life. At the second, is the family. The third is their self life. The materials give examples of each in the search for a more positive mental attitude, knowing that if any one of these is bettered, the other two will follow. This means that the human being is an integrated whole, and to hide or segregate one part of the person from the other parts is to encourage disunity rather than solidarity. The goal of HEED is psychological unity which is so necessary in this world of tension and disharmony.

Evaluation

As part of the HEED project, an evaluation will be sent to all of the Florida Home Economics teachers who participated in the project. This will not be fully completed until the fall of 1982. However, from the preliminary evaluation work, there seems to be a positive reaction from many sources.

HEED Exportation

I was privileged to attend the National Home Economics Education Conference in Arlington, Virginia in April, 1982. A set of HEED materials was delivered to each of the state supervisors. The purpose was to allow them and their staffs to experience the materials and to consider including the HEED materials in their support of teachers against pervasive and insidious burnout and apathy.

Inquiries concerning HEED may be directed to:

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or

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HEED II

A second grant, entitled HEED II, Home Economics Teacher's Linkage to School and Community Decision Makers, has been requested. In tandem with HEED I materials, HEED II provides a positive strategy and training paradigm to bring the individual teacher more in charge of her or his own professional life, both with regard to local school politics and community decision makers.

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